

T H E
F A B L E
OF THE
B E E S :

6th Ed. Thomas.

Jo 17 O R, 22 *Reed*
Private Vices
Publick Benefits.

CONTAINING,
Several Discourses, to demonstrate,
That Human Frailties, *during the de-*
generacy of MANKIND, may be turn'd
to the Advantage of the CIVIL
SOCIETY, and made to supply
the Place of *Moral Virtues.*

Lux e Tenebris.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Ox-
ford Arms in Warwick Lane, 1714.



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T H E
P R E F A C E.



LAW S and Government
are to the Political Bo-
dies of Civil Societies,
what the Vital Spirits and
Life it self are to the Na-
tural Bodies of Anima-
ted Creatures; and as those that study
the Anatomy of Dead Carkasses may
see, that the chief Organs and nicest
Springs more immediately required
to continue the Motion of our Ma-
chine, are not hard Bones, strong
A 2 Muscles

The PREFACE.

Muscles and Nerves, nor the smooth white Skin that so beautifully covers them, but small trifling Films and little Pipes that are either overlooked, or else seem inconsiderable to Vulgar Eyes; so they that examine into the Nature of Man, abstract from Art and Education, may observe, that what renders him a Sociable Animal, consists not in his desire of Company, good Nature, Pity, Affability, and other Graces of a fair Outside; but that his vilest and most hateful Qualities are the most necessary Accomplishments to fit him for the largest, and according to the World, the happiest and most flourishing Societies.

The following Fable, in which what I have said is set forth at large was printed above eight Years ago in a Sixpenny Pamphlet call'd, *The Grumbling Hive; or Knaves turn'd Honest*; and being soon after Pyrated, cry'd about the Streets in a Half penny Sheet. Since the first publishing of it I have met with several that either wilfully or ignorantly

The P R E F A C E.

ignorantly mistaking the Design, would have it, that the Scope of it was a Satyr upon Virtue and Morality, and the whole wrote for the Encouragement of Vice. This made me resolve whenever it should be reprinted, some way or other to inform the Reader of the real Intent this little Poem was wrote with. I do not dignify these few loose Lines with the Name of Poem, that I would have the Reader expect any Poetry in them, but barely because they are Rhime, and I am in reallity puzzled what name to give them; for they are neither Heroick nor Pastoral, Satyr, Burlesque nor Heroi-comick; to be a Tale they want Probability, and the whole is rather too long for a Fable. All I can say of them is, that they are a Story told in Dogrel, which without the least design of being witty, I have endeavour'd to do in as easy and familiar a Manner as I was able: The Reader shall be welcome to call them what he pleases. 'Twas said of *Montagne*, that he was pretty

The P R E F A C E.

well vers'd in the Defects of Mankind but unacquainted with the Excellencies of Humane Nature: If I fare no worse, I shall think my self well used.

What Country soever in the Universe is to be understood by the Bee-Hive represented here, it is evident from what is said of the Laws and Constitution of it, the Glory, Wealth, Power and Industry of its Inhabitants, that it must be a large, rich and warlike Nation that is happily governed by a limited Monarchy. The Satyr therefore to be met with in the following Lines upon the several Professions and Callings, and almost every Degree and Station of People was not made to injure and point at particular Persons, but only to shew the Vileness of the Ingredients that all together compose the wholesome Mixture of a well order'd Society; in order to extol the wonderful Power of Political Wisdom, by the help of which so beautiful a Machine is rais'd from the most contemptible

The P R E F A C E.

temptible Branches. For the main design of the Fable, (as it is breefly explain'd in the Moral) is to shew the Impossibility of enjoying all the most elegant Comforts of Life that are to be met with in an industrious, wealthy and powerful Nation, and at the same time be bless'd with all the Virtue and Innocence that can be wish'd for in a Golden Age; from thence to expose the Unreasonableness and Folly of those, that desirous of being an opulent and flourishing People, and wonderfully greedy after all the Benefits they can receive as such, are yet always murmuring at and exclaiming against those Vices and Inconveniencies, that from the beginning of the World to this present Day, have been inseparable from all Kingdoms and States that ever were fam'd for Strength, Riches and Politeness at the same time.

To do this, I first slightly touch upon some of the Faults and Corruptions the several Professions and Callings are generally charg'd with. After that

The PREFACE.

I shew that those very Vices of every Particular Person by skilful Management were made subservient to the Grandeur and worldly Happiness of the whole. Lastly, by setting forth what of necessity must be the consequence of general Honesty and Virtue and National Temperance, innocence and Content, I demonstrate that if Mankind could be cured of the Failings they are Naturally guilty of they would cease to be capable of being rais'd into such vast, potent and poite Societies, as they have been under the several great Common-wealths and Monarchies that have flourish'd since the Creation.

If you ask me why I have done all this, *cui bono*? And what Good these Notions will produce; truly besides the Reader's Diversion, I believe none at all; but if I was ask'd what Naturally ought to be expected from'em, I wou'd answer, That in the first Place the People, who continually find Fault with others, by reading them, would be taught to look at home, and examining

The P R E F A C E.

ing their own Consciences, be made ashamed of always railing at what they are more or less guilty of themselves; and that in the next, those who are so fond of the Ease and Comforts, and reap all the Benefits that are the Consequence of a great and flourishing Nation, would learn more patiently to submit to those Inconveniencies which no Government upon Earth can remedy, when they should see the Impossibility of enjoying any great share of the first, without partaking likewise of the latter.

This I say ought naturally to be expected from the publishing of these Notions, if People were to be made better by any thing that could be said to them; but Mankind having for so many Ages remain'd still the same, notwithstanding the many instructive and elaborate Writings, by which their Amendment has been endeavour'd, I am not so vain as to hope for better success from so inconsiderable a Trifle.

The PREFACE.

Having allow'd the small Advantage this little Whim is likely to produce, I think my self oblig'd to shew, that it cannot be prejudicial to any ; for what is published, if it does no good, ought at least to do no harm : In order to this I have made some Explanatory Notes, to which the Reader will find himself refer'd in those Passages that seem to be most liable to Exceptions.

The Censorious that never saw the *Grumbling Hive*, will tell me, that whatever I may talk of the Fable, it not taking up a Tenth part of the Book, was only contriv'd to introduce the *Remarks* ; that instead of clearing up the doubtful or obscure Places, I have only pitch'd upon such as I had a Mind to expatiate upon ; and that far from striving to extenuate the Errors committed before I have made Bad worse, and shewn my self a more bare-fac'd Champion for Vice, in the rambling Digressions, than I had done in the Fable itself.

I shall

The P R E F A C E.

I shall spend no time in answering these Accusations; where Men are prejudic'd, the best Apologies are lost; and I know that those who think it Criminal to suppose a necessity of Vice in any Case whatever, will never be reconcil'd to any part of the Performance; but if this be thoroughly examin'd all the Offence it can give, must result from the wrong Inferences that may perhaps be drawn from it, and which I desire no body to make. When I assert, that Vices are inseparable from great and potent Societies, and that it is impossible their Wealth and Grandeur should subsist without, I do not say that the particular Members of them who are guilty of any should not be continually reprov'd, or not be punish'd for them when they grow into Crimes.

There are, I believe, few People in *London*, of those that are at any times forc'd to go a foot, but what could wish the Streets of it much cleaner than generally they are; whilst they regard nothing but their own Cloaths
and

The P R E F A C E.

and private Conveniency ; but when once they come to consider, that what offends them is the result of the Plenty, great Traffick and Opulency of that mighty City, if they have any Concern in its Welfare, they will hardly ever wish to see the Streets of it less dirty. For if we mind the Materials of all sorts that must supply such an infinite number of Trades and Handicrafts, as are always going forward ; the vast quantity of Viſuals, Drink and Fewel that are daily consum'd in it, and the Waste and Superfluities that must be produced from them ; the multitudes of Horses and other Cattle that are always dawbing the Streets, the Carts, Coaches and more heavy Carriages that are perpetually wearing and breaking the Pavement of them, and above all the numberless swarm of People that are continually harraſſing and trampling through every part of them. If, I say, we mind all these, we shall find that every Moment must produce new Filth, and
con-

The P R E F A C E.

considering how far distant the great Streets are from the River side, what Cost and Care soever be bestow'd to remove the Nastiness almost as fast as it is made, it is impossible *London* should be more cleanly before it is less flourishing. Now would I ask if a good Citizen, in consideration of what has been said, might not assert, that dirty Streets are a necessary Evil inseparable from the Felicity of *London*; without being the least hindrance to the cleaning of Shoes, or sweeping of Streets, and consequently without any Prejudice either to the *Blackguard* or the *Scavengers*.

But if, without any regard to the Interest or Happiness of the City, the Question was put, What Place I thought most pleasant to walk in? No body can doubt but before the stinking Streets of *London*, I would esteem a fragrant Garden, or a shady Grove in the Country. In the same manner, if laying aside all worldly Greatness and Vain Glory, I should be ask'd where I thought it was most probable

The P R E F A C E.

bable that Men might enjoy true Happiness, I would prefer a small peaceable Society, in which Men neither envy'd nor esteem'd by Neighbours, should be contented to live upon the Natural Product of the Spot they inhabit, to a vast multitude abounding in Wealth and Power, that should always be conquering others by their Arms Abroad, and debauching themselves by Foreign Luxury at Home.



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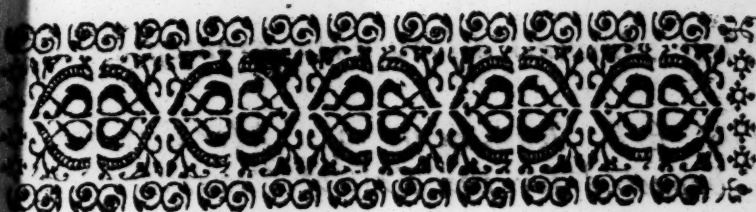
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THE CONTENTS.

A Description of the glorious Beehive,	Page 1
The cause of their Greatness,	8
Their unreasonable Murmurings.	10
Jupiter makes them honest.	11
The effects of honesty upon Trade.	15
The Moral.	19
The reason why so few People understand themselves,	21
En Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Vir- tue,	23
Man without Government is of all Crea- tures the most unfit for Society,	24
Mankind is for Emulations sake divided in two Classes,	26
What	

E

CONTENTS.

<i>What Animals discover the greatest Pride,</i>	28
<i>The first Rudiments of Morality were broach'd for the Ease of Governors</i>	30
<i>The Definitions of Virtue and Vice,</i>	31
<i>Moral Virtue not deriv'd from Religion,</i>	32
<i>What excited the Ancients to Heroick Vir- tues,</i>	33
<i>The various Arts of Flattery</i>	34
<i>What the Thirst after Fame consists in,</i>	38
<i>Pity no Virtue, and why,</i>	39
<i>Observations concerning Education,</i>	42
<i>No Traders strictly honest.</i>	46
<i>A Story of two Merchants that both took Advantage of their Intelligences,</i>	47
<i>The genuine Signification of Honour,</i>	50
<i>A Definition of Shame,</i>	51
<i>What makes Men ashamed for the faults of others,</i>	53
<i>The Symptoms of Shame and Pride</i>	54
<i>Why all Tradesmen take such Pains to hide the Prime Cost of their Goods,</i>	56
<i>The reason why Gamsters conceal their Gettings before the Losers,</i>	57
<i>When the Reason alledg'd ceases,</i>	59

How

CONTENTS.

How Virtue may be said to be made Friends with Vice,	61
The worst of the Society do something for the Publick Good,	62
The Clergy of different Perswasions are be- neficial to one another,	63
Virtuous Women promote the Advantage of Prostitutes,	64
The Tolleration of Strumpets necessary to the Preservation of Chastity,	65
A Description of the Musick Houses at Am- sterdam,	66
The Tolleration of Lewd Women in other Parts of the World,	69
The reason why Avarice is so much ex- claim'd against,	71
Avarice and Profuseness often joyn'd toge- ther,	73
Lavishness is a most beneficial Vice to the Publick,	74
The Body Politick compar'd to a Bowl of Punch,	77
Either every thing is Luxury, or else there is none at all,	79
Luxury not Destructive to the Wealth of a Nation,	81

The

CONTENTS.

<i>The mischief proceeding from Bad Politics are charg'd to Luxury,</i>	85
<i>Several maxims never to be departed from,</i>	86
<i>How Nations may swim in Luxury, and yet be a Warlike People,</i>	89
<i>What the Luxury of Military Men consists in,</i>	94
<i>A Definition of Pride,</i>	98
<i>By Pride and Luxury are more Hands set to work than could be employ'd without them,</i>	99
<i>The use of Cloaths,</i>	102
<i>The Encouragement obscure People have to Dress above their Condition,</i>	103
<i>All degrees of Men immitate those above them,</i>	105
<i>An Objection answer'd</i>	107
<i>Several different Symptoms of Pride,</i>	108
<i>No body spends his Money to promote the Trade of others,</i>	112
<i>The highest good of Epicurus,</i>	113
<i>The Desires of the Sensual and Ambitious,</i>	114
<i>The highest good of the Stoicks,</i>	117
<i>Men are to be judg'd by their Actions, and not from their Words,</i>	119
	The

CONTENTS.

oli- 85	<i>The Self-denial observ'd in Religious Houses</i>	121
om, 86	<i>The wishes of all the Reform'd Clergy in general,</i>	123
and 89	<i>Poverty brings none of the Clergy into Contempt but such as want Fortitude to bear it,</i>	125
on- 94	<i>Nothing renders Man more glorious than a voluntary Poverty embrac'd with cheerfulness,</i>	126
98	<i>The effects which the Self-denial of a good Pastor would have upon his Flock,</i>	128
set out 99	<i>Marriage in a poor Priest is less pardonable than in a Prentice,</i>	130
02	<i>What we must judge of the Apology that is made for the Clergy,</i>	131
03	<i>The real Pleasures of Great Men, as well the Clergy as the Laity, in all Countries,</i>	133
ove 05	<i>What must awe Men of abandon'd Principles,</i>	135
07	<i>Where there is real Power, no Temperance or Austerity of Life ever renders the Person contemptible in whom it is lodg'd,</i>	137
08	<i>The real Pleasures of all Men in Nature are Worldly and Sensual,</i>	138
the 12	<i>Most</i>	

CONTENTS.

<i>Most Men act against their Principle, ibid.</i>	
<i>The Poor enjoy more of the Comforts of Life than formerly the Rich.</i>	141
<i>The Luxury there is in Woollen and Linnen Cloth,</i>	142
<i>Several other instances of real Luxury made use of among the Poor,</i>	144
<i>The Tyranny of Custom gives us not leave to judge of things as they really are,</i>	145
<i>What is counted very immodest one moment, is not so much as censur'd the next,</i>	146
<i>To use the Flesh of Animals for Food is a cruel piece of Luxury,</i>	147
<i>What raises our Compassion most effectually</i>	ibid.
<i>The Repugnancy of Nature to the killing of Animals,</i>	148
<i>Why Surgeons are not allowed to be of any Jury upon Life and Death,</i>	149
<i>A fabulous Dialogue between a Man and a Lyon,</i>	150
<i>Man's Excellency above other Animals,</i>	151
<i>There is little Sincerity in the esteem which</i>	Man

CONTENTS.

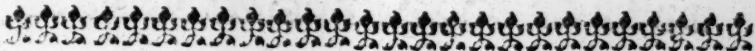
	<i>Man pretends to have for his Species,</i>	153
	<i>Why Man's craving Flesh for Food is unnatural,</i>	ibid.
	<i>We ought not to judge of Nature's design, but from the effects she shews,</i>	155
	<i>Man never acknowledges Superiority without Power,</i>	156
	<i>The feeling of Brutes proved from several concurring Symptoms,</i>	157
	<i>A Definition of Frugality,</i>	158
	<i>What the Lavishness or Frugality of Nations depend upon,</i>	159
	<i>Maxims to make a People great and flourishing.</i>	162
	<i>To make a Society good and honest,</i>	162
	<i>The present Grandeur of the Dutch is not owing to the Virtue and Frugality of their Ancestors,</i>	164
	<i>The Hardships and Calamities they have suffered</i>	164
	<i>Their natural Wants,</i>	165
	<i>The Dutch not frugal by Principle</i>	168
	<i>'Tis Policy and not Virtue that makes the Dutch encourage Frugality,</i>	169
	<i>How they promote Lavishness when it suits with their Interest,</i>	170
	<i>What</i>	

CONTENTS.

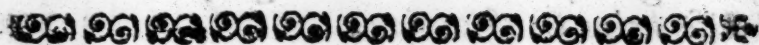
<i>What the Consequence wou'd be of a National Frugality among us,</i>	172
<i>A Nation could more easily live without Money than without Poor,</i>	174
<i>Nations may be ruined by too much Money,</i>	175
<i>The effect too much Money has had upon the Spaniards,</i>	177
<i>The Labours of the People and the Fruits of the Earth, are Treasures beyond Gold or Silver,</i>	178
<i>All desires tend to Self-Preservation,</i>	182
<i>Fear not to be conquer'd by Reason,</i>	183
<i>Why Anger and Lust are the two fiercest Appetites,</i>	184
<i>What use Anger is of to all Creatures,</i>	185
<i>No Brutes fight obstinately, but what are either Voracious or Lustful.</i>	187
<i>Why Man is a timorous Animal,</i>	190
<i>Man is civiliz'd by his Fear,</i>	191
<i>Natural Courage proceeds from Anger,</i>	192
<i>Natural Courage of no use in Martial Discipline,</i>	193
<i>How artificial Courage is made.</i>	195
	That

CONTENTS.

Ratio-	<i>That we fear things more than Death de-</i>	
172	<i>monstrated from Suicide,</i>	196
thout	<i>The force of Constitution,</i>	198
174	<i>Strong Liquors imitate Anger,</i>	199
Mo-	<i>Use helps Constitution,</i>	201
175	<i>Atheism has had Maryrs,</i>	202
upon	<i>Pride and other Passions are often mistaken</i>	
177	<i>for Courage,</i>	204
Fruits	<i>The Art of rousing Man's Pride,</i>	205
Gold	<i>Thoughts about Duelling,</i>	203
178	<i>Honour directly opposite to Religion,</i>	211
182	<i>The Frugality of the Spartans,</i>	213
183	<i>A Discourse upon Laziness,</i>	215
erceft	<i>Content is a Precarious Virtue,</i>	223
184	<i>A Definition of Industry,</i>	224
ures,	<i>The Impossibility of being a Great and a</i>	
185	<i>Virtuous Nation,</i>	225
ut are	<i>The World's Conveniencies,</i>	227

Anger, 

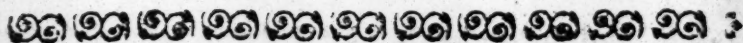
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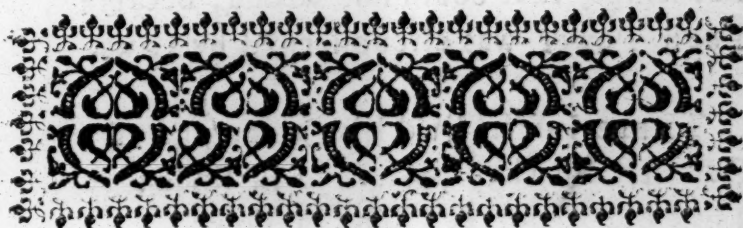
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r. *rejoycing.* p. 89. l. 27. dele *not.* p. 124. l. after.
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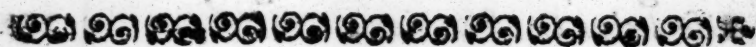


SPACIOUS Hive well stockt with
[Bees,
That liv'd in Luxury and Ease;
And yet as fam'd for Laws and
(Arms,
As yielding large and early
(Swarms;

Was counted the great Nursery
Of Sciences and Industry.
No Bees had better Government,
More Fickleness, or less Content :
They were not Slaves to Tyranny,
Nor rul'd by wild *Democracy*;

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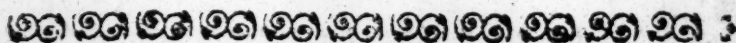
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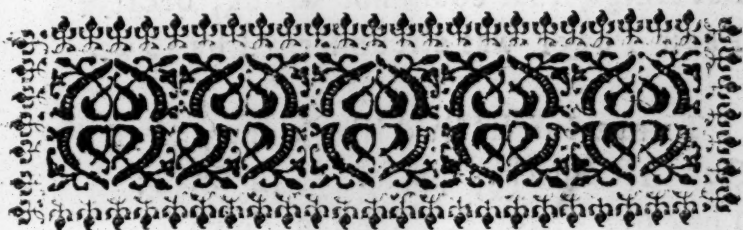
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No Bees had better Government,
 More Fickleness, or less Content :
 They were not Slaves to Tyranny,
 Nor rul'd by wild *Democracy*;

B

But

But Kings, that could not wrong, because
Their Power was circumscrib'd by Laws.

THESE Insects liv'd like Men, and all
Our Actions they perform'd in small:
They did whatever's done in Town,
And what belongs to Sword or Gown;
Tho' th'Artful Works, by nimble Slight
Of minute Limbs, 'scap'd Human Sight;
Yet we've no Engines, Labourers,
Ships, Castles, Arms, Artificers,
Craft, Science, Shop, or Instrument,
But they had an Equivalent:
Which, since their Language is unknown,
Must be call'd, as we do our own.
As grant, that among other Things,
They wanted Dice, yet they had Kings;
And those had Guards; from whence we may
Justly conclude, they had some Play;
Unless a Regiment be shewn
Of Soldiers, that make use of none.

VAST Numbers throng'd the fruitful Hive;
Yet those vast Numbers made 'em thrive;
Millions endeavouring to supp'y
Each other's Lust and Vanity;

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Whist other Millions were employ'd,
 To see their Handy-works destroy'd;
 They furnish'd half the Universe;
 Yet had more Work than Labourers.
 Some with vast Stocks, and little Pains
 Jump'd into Business of great Gains;
 And some were damn'd to Sythes and Spades,
 And all those hard laborious Trades;
 Where willing Wretches daily sweat,
 And wear out Strength and Limbs to eat:
 (A) Whilst others follow'd Misteries,
 To which few Folks bind 'Prentices;
 That want no Stock, but that of Brass,
 And may set up without a Cross;
 As Sharpers, Parasites, Pimps, Players,
 Pick-Pockets, Coiners, Quacks, South-Sayers,
 And all those that in Enmity,
 With downright Working, cunningly
 Converts to their own Use the Labour
 Of their good Natur'd heedless Neighbour.
 (B) These were call'd Knaves, but bar the Name
 The grave Industrious were the same:
 All Trades and Places knew some Cheat,
 No Calling was without Deceit.

THE Lawyers, of whose Art the Basis,
 Was raising Feuds and splitting Cases,
 Opposed all Registers, that Cheats
 Might make more Work with dipt Estates;
 As wer't unlawful, that one's own,
 Without a Law-Suit, should be known.
 They kept off Hearings wilfully,
 To finger the refreshing Fee;
 And to defend a wicked Cause,
 Examin'd and survey'd the Laws,
 As Burglars Shops and Houses do,
 To find out where they'd best break through.

PHYSICIANS valu'd Fame and Wealth
 Above the drooping Patient's Health,
 Or their own Skill: The greatest Part
 Study'd, instead of Rules of Art,
 Grave pensive Looks, and dull Behaviour,
 To gain th' Apothecary's Favour;
 The Praise of Mid-wives, Priests and all,
 That serv'd at Birth or Funeral.
 To bear with th'ever-talking Tribe,
 And hear my Lady's Aunt prescribe;
 With formal Smile, and kind How d'ye,
 To fawn on all the Family;

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And, which of all the greatest Curse is;
T' endure th' Impertinence of Nurſes.

AMONG the many Priests of *Jove*,
Hir'd to draw Blessings from Above,
Some few were I earn'd and Eloquent,
But thousands Hot and Ignorant :
Yet all pass'd Muster that could hide
Their Sloth, Lust, Avarice and Pride ;
For which they were as fam'd as Taylors
For Cabbage, or for Brandy, Sailors :
Some Meagre look'd, and meanly clad,
Would mystically pray for Bread,
Meaning by that an ample Store,
Yet lit'rally receiv'd no more ;
And, whilst these holy Drudges starv'd,
Some lazy Ones, for which they serv'd,
Indulg'd their Ease, with all the Graces
Of Health and Plenty in their Faces.

(C.) THE Soldiers, that were forc'd to fight,
If they surviv'd, got Honour by't ;
Tho' some, that shunn'd the bloody Fray,
Had Limbs shot off, that ran away :
Some Valliant Gen'als fought the Foe ;
Others took Bribes to let them go :

Some ventur'd always where 'twas warm,
 Lost now a Leg, and then an Arm;
 Till quite disabled; and put by,
 They liv'd on half their Salary;
 Whilst others never came in Play,
 And staid at Home for double Pay.

THEIR Kings were serv'd, but Knavishly
 Cheated by their own Ministry;
 Many, that for their Welfare flaved,
 Robbing the very Crown they saved:
 Pensions were small, and they liv'd high,
 Yet boasted of their Honesty.
 Calling, whene'er they strain'd their Right,
 The s'pp'ry Trick a Perquisite;
 And when Folks understood their Cant,
 They chang'd that for Emolument;
 Unwilling to be short or plain,
 In any thing concerning Gain:
 (D.) For there was not a Bee but would
 Get more, I won't say, than he should;
 But then he dar'd to let them know,
 (E.) That pay'd for't, as your Gamesters do,
 That, tho' at fair Play, ne'er will own
 Before the Losers what they've won.

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BUT who can all their Frauds repeat?
 The very Stuff, which in the Street
 They sold for Dirt t'enrich the Ground,
 Was often by the Buyers found
 Sophisticated with a quarter
 Of Good for nothing Stones and Mortar;
 Tho' Flail had little Cause to murter,
 Who sold the other Salt for Butter.

JUSTICE her self, fam'd for fair Dealing,
 By Blindness had not lost her Feeling;
 Her left hand, which the Scales should hold,
 Had often dropt 'em, brib'd with Gold;
 And, tho' she seem'd Impartial,
 Where Punishment was corporal,
 Pretended to a reg'lar Course,
 In Murther, and all Crimes of Force;
 Tho' some, first Pillory'd for Cheating,
 Were hang'd in Hemp of their own beating;
 Yet, it was thought, the Sword she bore
 Check'd but the Desp'rate and the Poor;
 That, urg'd by meer Necessity,
 Were ty'd up to the wretched Tree
 For Crimes, which not deserv'd that Fate,
 But to secure the Rich and Great.

THUS every Part was full of Vice,
 Yet the whole Mass a Paradise;
 Flatter'd in Peace, and fear'd in Wars,
 They were th'Esteem of Foreigners,
 And lavish of their Wealth and Lives,
 The Ballance of all other Hives,
 Such were the Blessings of that State;
 Their Crimes conspir'd to make them Great :
 (F.) And Vertue, who from Politicks
 Had learn'd a Thousand cunning Tricks,
 Was, by their happy Influence,
 Made Friends with Vice : And ever since
 (G.) The worst of all the Multitude,
 Did something for the Common Good.

THIS was the State's-Craft, that maintain'd
 The Whole, of which each Part complain'd :
 This, as in Musick Harmony,
 Made Jarrings in the main agree ;
 (H.) Parties directly opposite,
 Assist each other, as 'twere for Spight;
 And Temp'rance with Sobriety,
 Serve Drunkenness and Gluttony.

(I.) THE Root of Evil Avarice,
 That damn'd ill-natur'd banefull Vice,

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Was Slave to Prodigality,
 (K.) That noble Sin ; (L.) whilst Luxury
 Employ'd a Million of the Poor,
 (M.) And odious Pride a Million more ;
 Envy it self, and Vanity,
 Were Ministers of Industry ;
 Their darling Folly, Fickleness
 In Dyet, Furniture and Dress,
 That strange ridic'ulous Vice, was made
 The very Wheel that turn'd the Trade.
 Their Laws and Cloaths were equally
 Objects of Mutability ;
 For, what was well done for a time,
 In half a Year became a Crime ;
 Yet whilst they alter'd thus their Laws,
 Still finding and correcting Flaws,
 They mended by Inconstancy
 Faults, which no Prudence could foresee.

Thus Vice nurs'd Ingenuity,
 Which joyn'd with Time and Industry,
 Had carry'd Life's Conveniencies,
 (N.) It's real Pleasures, Comforts, Ease,

(O.) To such a Height, the very Poor
Liv'd better than the Rich before,
And nothing could be added more.

How Vain is Mortal Happiness!
Had they but known the Bounds of Bliss;
And that Perfection here below
Is more than Gods can well bestow.
The Grumbling Brutes had been content
With Ministers and Government.
But they, at every ill Success,
Like Creatures lost without Redress,
Curs'd Politicians, Armies, Fleets;
Whilst every one cry'd, *Damn the Cheats,*
And would, tho' conscious of his own,
In others barb'rously bear none.

ONE, that had got a Princely Store,
By cheating Master, King, and Poor,
Dar'd cry aloud, *The Land must sink*
For all its Fraud; And whom d'ye think
The Cermonizing Rascal chid?
A Glover that sold Lamb for Kid.

THE least Thing was not done amiss,
Or cross'd the Publick Business;

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But all the Rogues cry'd brazenly,
Good Gods ! Had we but Honesty !
Merc'ry smil'd at the th'Impudence,
 And others call'd it want of Sence,
 Always to rail at what they lov'd:
 But *Jove*, with Indignation mov'd,
 At last in Anger swore, *He'd rid*
The bawling Hive of Fraud ; and did.
 The very Moment it departs,
 And Honesty fills all their Hearts ;
 There shews 'em like th' Instructive Tree,
 Those Crimes which they're asham'd to see ;
 Which now in Silence they confess,
 By blushing at their Uglinefs ;
 Like Children, that would hide their Faults,
 And by their Colour own their Thoughts ;
 Imag'ning, when they're look'd upon,
 That others see what they have done,

BUT, Oh ye Gods ! What Consternation,
 How vast and sudden was th'Alteration.
 In half an Hour, the Nation round,
 Meat fell a Penny in the Pound.
 The Mask Hypocrisy's flung down,
 From the great Statesman to the Clown :

And

And some in borrow'd Looks well known,
 Appear'd like Strangers in their own.
 The Bar was silent from that Day;
 For now the willing Debtors pay,
 Ev'n what's by Creditors forgot;
 Who quitted them that had it not.
 Those, that were in the Wrong, stood mute,
 And dropt the patch'd vexatious Suit.
 On which, since nothing less can thrive,
 Than Lawyers in an honest Hive,
 All, except those that got enough,
 With Ink horns by their sides troop'd off.

JUSTICE hang'd some, set others free;
 And, after Goal-delivery,
 Her Presence be'ng no more requir'd,
 With all her Train and Pomp retir'd.
 First march'd some Smiths with Locks and Grates,
 Fetters, and Doors with Iron Plates:
 Next Goalers, Turnkeys and Assistants:
 Before the Goddess, at some distance,
 Her chief and faithful Minister,
 *Squire CATCH, the Laws great Finisher,
 Bore not th'imaginary Sword,
 But his own Tools, an Ax and Cord:

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Then on a Cloud the Hood-wink'd Fair,
 JUSTICE herself was push'd by Air:
 About her Chariot, and behind,
 Were Sergeants, Bums of every kind
 Tip-staffs, and all those Officers,
 That squeeze a Living out of Tears.

THO' Physick liv'd, whilst Folks were ill,
 None would prescribe, but Bees of skill,
 Which through the Hive dispers'd so wide,
 That none of them had need to ride;
 Wav'd yain Disputes, and strove to free
 The Patients of their Misery;
 Left Drugs in cheating Countries grown,
 And us'd the Product of their own;
 Knowing the Gods sent no Disease
 To Nations without Remedies.

THEIR Clergy rouz'd from Laziness,
 Laid not their Charge on Journey-Bees;
 But serv'd themselves, exempt from Vice,
 The Gods with Pray'r and Sacrifice;
 All those, that were unfit, or knew
 Their Service might be spar'd, withdrew:
 Nor was their Business for so many,
 (If th' Honest stand in need of any.)

Few

Few only with the High-Priest flaid,
 To whom the rest Obedience paid;
 Himself employ'd in holy Cares,
 Resign'd to others State-Affairs.
 He chas'd no starv'ling from his Door,
 Nor pinch'd the Wages of the Poor;
 But at his House the Hungry's fed,
 The Hireling finds unmeasur'd Bread,
 The needy Trav'ler Board and Bed.

AMONG the King's great Ministers,
 And all th'inferior Officers
 The Change was great; (P.) for frugally
 They now liv'd on their Salary,
 That a poor Bee should ten times come
 To ask his Due, a trifling Sum,
 And by some well hir'd Clerk be made,
 To give a Crown, or ne'er be paid;
 Would now be call'd a downright Cheat,
 Tho' formerly a Perquisite.
 All Places, manag'd first by Three,
 Who watch'd each others Knavery,
 And often for a Fellow-feeling,
 Promoted one another's stealing,

Are

Are happily supply'd by One;
By which some thousands more are gone.

(Q.) No Honour now could be content,
To live and owe for what was spent.
Liv'ries in Broker's Shops are hung,
They part with Coaches for a song;
Sell stately Horses by whole sets;
And Country-Houses to pay Debts.

VAIN Cost is shunn'd as much as Fraud;
They have no Forces Abroad;
Laugh at th'Esteem of Foreigners,
And empty Glory got by Wars;
They fight, but for their Country's sake,
When Right or Liberty's at Stake.

Now mind the glorious Hive, and see
How Honesty and Trade agree:
The Shew is gone, it thins apace;
And looks with quite another Face,
For 'twas not only that they went,
By whom vast Sums were Yearly spent;
But Multitudes that lived on them,
Were daily forc'd to do the same.

In vain to other Trades they'd fly;
All were o'er-stock'd accordingly.

THE Price of Land and Houses falls;
Mirac'lous Palaces whose Walls,
Like those of *Thebes*, were rais'd by Play,
Are to be let; whilst the once gay,
Well-seated Household Gods would be
More pleas'd t'expire in Flames than see
The mean Inscription 'on the Door
Smile at the lofty Ones they bore.
The Building Trade is quite destroy'd,
Artificers are not employ'd;
(R.) No Limner for his Art is fam'd,
Stone-cutters, Carvers are not nam'd.

THOSE that remain'd, grown temp'rate, strive,
Not how to spend, but how to live,
And, when they paid their Tavern Score,
Resolv'd to enter it no more:
No Vintners Jilt in all the Hive
Could wear now Cloth of Gold and thrive;
Nor *Torcol* such vast Sums advance,
For *Bugundy* and *Ortelans*;
The Courtier's gone, that with his Miss
Supp'd at his House on *Christmas* Peas;

Spend.

Spending as much in two Hours stay,
As keeps a Troop of Horse a Day.

THE haughty *Chloe*, to live Great,
Had made her Husband rob the the State:
But now she sells her Furniture;
Which th' *Indies* had been ransack'd for;
Contracts th' expensive Bill of Fare,
And wears her strong Suit a whole Year;
The slight and fickle Age is past;
And Cloaths, as well as Fashions, last.
Weavers that join'd rich Silk with Plate,
And all the Trades subordinate,
Are gone. Still Peace and Plenty reign,
And every Thing is cheap, tho' plain:
Kind Nature, free from Gard'ners Force,
Allows all Fruits in her own Course;
But Rarities cannot be had,
Where pains to get 'em are not paid.

As Pride and Luxury decrease,
So by degrees they leave the Seas.
Not Merchants now, but Companies
Remove whole Manufacturies.
All Arts and Crafts neglected lie;
(S.) Content, the Bane of Industry,

Make

Makes 'em admire their homely Store,
And neither seek nor covet more.

So few in the vast Hive remain,
The hundredth Part they can't maintain,
Against th' Insults of numerous Foes;
Whom yet they valiantly oppose:
Till some well-fenc'd Retreat is found,
And here they die, or stand their Ground.
No Hireling in their Army's known;
But bravely fighting for their own.
Their Courage and Integrity
At last were crown'd with Victory.
They triumph'd not without their Cost;
For many Thousand Bees were lost.
Hard'ned with Toils and Exercise,
They counted Ease it self a Vice;
Which so improv'd their Temperance;
That, to avoid Extravagance,
They flew into a hollow Tree,
Blest with Content and Honesty.

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THEN leave Complaints : Fools only strive
(T.) To make a Great an honest Hive.

V.) T'enjoy the World's Conveniencies,

Be fam'd in War, yet live in Ease

Without great Vices, is a vain

EUTOPIA seated in the Brain.

Fraud, Luxury and Pride must live,

Whilst we the Benefits receive.

Hunger's a dreadful Plague, no doubt,

Yet who digests or thrives without ?

Do we not owe the Growth of Wine

To the dry shabby crooked Vine ?

Which, whilst its shutes neglected stood,

Choak'd other Plants, and ran to Wood ;

But blest us with its noble Fruit,

As soon as it was ty'd and cut :

So Vice is beneficial found,

The When its by Justice lost and bound ;

Nay

*Nay, where their People would be great,
 As necessary to the State,
 As Hunger is to make 'em eat.
 Bare Vertue can't make Nations live
 In Splendour, they, that would revive
 A Golden Age, must be as free,
 For Acorns, as for Honesty.*

F I N I S



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INTRODUCTION.



ONE of the greatest Reasons why so few People understand themselves, is, that most Writers are always teaching Men what they should be, and hardly ever trouble their heads with telling them what they really are. As for my part, without any Compliment to the Courteous Reader, or my self, I believe Man (besides Skin, Flesh, Bones, &c. that are obvious to the Eye) to be a Compound of various Passions, that all
of

The Introduction:

of them, as they are provoked and come uppermost, govern him by turns, whether he will or no. To shew, that these Qualifications, which we all pretend to be asham'd of, are the great support of a flourishing Society, has been the subject of the foregoing Poem. But there being some Passages in it seemingly Paradoxical, I have in the Preface promised to them explanatory Remarks on it; which, to render more useful, I have thought fit to enquire, how Man no better qualify'd, might yet by his own Imperfections be taught to distinguish between Virtue and Vice: And here I must desire the Reader once for all to take notice, that when I say Men, I mean neither Jews nor Christians, ; but meer Man, in the State of Nature and Ignorance of the true Deity.

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M O R A L V I R T U E.



ALL untaught Animals are only Sollicitous of pleasing themselves, and naturally follow the bent of their own Inclinations, without considering the good or harm that from their being pleased will accrue to others. This is the Reason, that in the wild

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wild Stare of Nature those Creatures are fittest to live peaceably together in great Numbers, that discover the least of Understanding, and have the fewest Appetites to gratify, and consequently no Species of Animals is without the Curb of Government, less capable of agreeing long together in Multitudes than that of Man; yet such are his Qualities, whether good or bad, I shall not determine, that no Creature besides himself can ever be made sociable: But being an extraordinary selfish and headstrong as well as cunning Animal, however he may be subdued by superior Strength, it is impossible by force alone to make him tractable, and receive the Improvements he is capable of.

The chief Thing therefore, which Lawgivers and other Wise Men, that have laboured for the Establishment of Society have endeavour'd, has been to make the People they were to govern, believe, that it was more beneficial for every body to conquer than indulge his Appetites, and much better to mind the Publick than what seem'd his private Interest. As this has always been a very difficult Task, so no Wit or Eloquence have been left untried to compass it; and the Moralists and Philosophers of all Ages employ'd their utmost Skill to prove the truth of so useful an Assertion. But whether

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ther Mankind would have either believ'd it or not, it is not likely that any body could have perswaded them to disapprove of their natural Inclinations, or prefer the good of others to their own, if at the same time he had not shew'd them an Equivalent to be enjoy'd as a Reward for the Violence, which by so doing they of necessity must commit upon themselves. Those that have undertaken to civilise Mankind, were not ignorant of this; but being unable to give so many real Rewards as would satisfy all Persons for every individual Action, they were forc'd to contrive an imaginary one, that as a general Equivalent for the trouble of Self-denial should serve on all occasions, and without costing any thing either to themselves or others, be yet a most acceptable Recompence to the Receivers.

They thoroughly examin'd all the Strength and Frailties of our Nature, and observing that none were either so savage as not to be charm'd with Praise, or so despicable as patiently to bear Contempt, justly concluded, that Flattery must be the most powerful Argument that cou'd be used to Human Creatures. Making use of this bewitching Engine, they extoll'd the Excellency of our Nature above other Animals, and setting forth with unbounded Praises the Wonders
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of our Sagacity and vastness of Understanding, bestow'd a thousand Encomiums on the Rationality of our Souls, by the help of which we were capable of performing the most noble Atchievements. Having by this artful way of Flattery insinuated themselves into the Hearts of Men, they began to instruct them in the Notions of Honour and Shame; representing the one as the worst of all Evils, and the other as the highest good to which Mortals could aspire : Which being done, they laid before them how unbecoming it was the Dignity of such sublime Creatures to be solicitous about gratifying those Appetites, which they had in common with Brutes, and at the same time unmindful of those higher qualities that gave them the pre eminence over all visible Beings. They indeed confess'd, that those impulses of Nature were very pressing; that it was troublesome to resist, and very difficult wholly to subdue them : But this they only used as an Argument to demonstrate, how glorious the Conquest of them was on the one hand, and how scandalous on the other not to attempt it.

To introduce moreover an Emulation amongst Men, they divided the whole Species in two Classes, vastly differing from one another: The one consisted of abject

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low minded People, that always hunting after immediate Enjoyment, were wholly incapable of Self denial, and without regard to the good of others, had no higher Aim than their private Advantage; such as being enslaved by Voluptuousness, yielded without Resistance to every gross desire, and made no use of their Rational Faculties but to heighten their Sensual Pleasures. These vile grov'ling Wretches, they said, were the Dross of their kind, and having only the Shape of Men, differ'd from Brutes in nothing but their outward Figure. But the other Class was made up of lofty high-spirited Creatures, that free from sordid Selfishness, esteem'd the Improvements of the Mind to be their fairest Possessions; and setting a true value upon themselves, took no delight but in imbellishing that Part in which their Excellency consisted; such as despising whatever they had in common with irrational Creatures, opposed by the help of Reason their most violent Inclinations; and making a continual War with themselves to promote the Peace of others, aim'd at no less than the Publick Welfare and the Conquest of their own Passions.

*Fortior est qui se quam qui fortissima Vincit
Mena*—————

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These

These they call'd the true Representatives of their sublime Species, exceeding in worth the first Class by more degrees, than that it self was superior to the Beasts of the Field.

As in all Animals that are not too imperfect to discover Pride, we find, that the finest and such as are the most beautiful and valuable of their kind, have generally the greatest Share of it; so in Man, the most perfect of Animals, it is so inseparable from his very Essence (how cunningly soever some may learn to hide or disguise it) that without it the Compound he is made of would want one of the chiefest Ingredients: Which, if we consider, it is hardly to be doubted but Lessons and Remonstrances, so skillfully adapted to the good Opinion Man has of himself, as those I have mentioned, must, if scatter'd amongst a Multitude, not only gain the assent of most of them, as to the speculative part, but likewise induce several, especially the fiercest, most resolute, and best among them, to endure a thousand Inconveniencies, and undergo as many hardships, that they may have the pleasure of counting themselves Men of the second Class, and consequently appropriating to themselves all the Excellencies they have heard of it.

From

From what has been said we ought to expect in the first place, that the Heroes who took such extraordinary Pains to master some of their natural Appetites, and prefer'd the good of others to any visible Interest of their own, would not recede an Inch from the fine Notions they had receiv'd concerning the Dignity of Rational Creatures; and having ever the Authority of the Government on their side, with all imaginable Vigour assert the Esteem that was due to those of the second Class, as well as their superiority over the rest of their kind. In the second, that those who wanted a sufficient Stock of either Pride or Resolution, to buoy them up in mortifying of what was dearest to them, follow'd the sensual dictates of Nature, would yet be ashamed of confessing themselves to be those despicable Wretches that belong'd to the inferior Class, and were generally reckon'd to be so little remov'd from Brutes; and that therefore in their own Defence they would say, as others did, and hiding their own Imperfections as well as they could, cry up Self-denial and Publick spiritedness as much as any: For it is highly probable, that some of them convinced by the real Proofs of Fortitude and Self-Conquest they had seen, would admire in others what they found

wanting in themselves; others be afraid of the Resolution and Prowess of those of the second Class, and that all of them were kept in awe by the Power of their Rulers, wherefore it is reasonable to think, that none of them (whatever they thought in themselves) would dare openly contradict, what by every body else was thought Criminal to doubt of.

This was (or at least might have been) the manner after which Savage Man was broke; from whence it is evident, that the first Rudiments of Morality, broach'd by skilfull Politicians, to render Men useful to each other as well as tractable, were chiefly contriv'd; that the Ambitious might reap the more Benefit from, and govern vast Numbers of them with the greater Ease and Security. This Foundation of Politicks being once laid, it is impossible that Man should long remain uncivilis'd: For even those who only strove to gratify their Appetites, being continually cross'd by others of the same Stamp, could not but observe, that whenever they check'd their Inclinations, or but follow'd them with more Circumspection, they avoided a world of Troubles, and often escap'd many of the Calamities that generally attended the too eager pursuit after Pleasure.

First,

First, they receiv'd, as well as others, the benefit of those Actions that were done for the good of the whole Society, and consequently could not forbear wishing well to those of the superior Class that perform'd them. Secondly, the more intent they were in seeking their own Advantage, without Regard to others, the more they were hourly convinced, that none were so obnoxious to them as those that were most like themselves.

It being the Interest then of the very worst of them, more than any, to preach up Publick-spiritedness, that they might reap the Fruits of the Labour and Self-denial of others, and at the same time indulge their own Appetites with less disturbance, they agreed with the rest, to call every thing, which, without Regard to the Publick, Man should commit to gratify any of his Appetites, VICE; if in that Action there could be observ'd the least prospect, that it might either be injurious to any of the Society, or ever render himself less serviceable to others: And to give the Name of VIRTUE to every Performance, by which Man, contrary to the impulse of Nature, should endeavour the Benefit of others, or the Conquest of his own Passions, out of a Rational Ambition of being good.

It shall be objected, that no Society was ever any ways civilis'd before the major part had agreed upon some Worship or other of an over ruling Power, and consequently that the Notions of Good and Evil, and the Distinction between *Virtue* and *Vice*, were never the Contrivance of Politicians, but the pure effect of Religion. Before I answer this Objection, I must repeat what I have said already, that in this *Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue*, I speak neither of *Jews* or *Christians*, but Man in his State of Nature and Ignorance of the true Deity; and then I affirm, that the Idolatrous Superstitions of all other Nations, and the pitiful Notions they had of the Supreme Being were incapable of exciting Man to Virtue, and good for nothing but to awe and amuse a rude and unthinking Multitude. It is evident from History, that in all considerable Societies, how stupid or ridiculous soever Peoples received Notions have been, as to the Deities they worship'd, Human Nature has ever exerted itself in all its branches, and that there is no Earthly Wisdom or Moral Virtue, but at one time or other Men have excell'd in it in all Monarchies and Commonwealths, that for Riches and Power have been any ways remarkable.

The

The *Egyptians* not satisfy'd with having Deify'd all the ugly Monsters they could think on, were so silly as to adore the *O-nions* of their own sowing; yet at the same time their Country was the most famous Nursery of Arts and Sciences in the World, and themselves more eminently skill'd in the deepest Mysteries of Nature than any Nation has been since.

No States or Kingdoms under Heaven have yielded more or greater Paterns in all sorts of Moral Virtues than the *Greek* and *Roman* Empires, more especially the latter; and yet how loose, absurd, and ridiculous were their Sentiments as to Sacred Matters: For without reflecting on the extravagant Number of their Deities, if we only consider the infamous Stories they father'd upon them, it is not to be denied but that their Religion, far from teaching Men the Conquest of their Passions, and the way to Virtue, seem'd rather contriv'd to justify their Appetites, and encourage their Vices. But if we would know what made 'em excel in Fortitude, Courage and Magnanimity, we must cast our Eyes on the Pomp of their Triumphs, the Magnificence of their Monuments and Arches, their Trophies, Statues, and Inscriptions; the variety of their Military Crowns, their Honours decreed to the

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Dead, Publick Encomiums on the Living; and other imaginary Rewards they bestow'd on Men of Merit; and we shall find, that what carried so many of them to the utmost Pitch of Self-denial, was nothing but their Policy in making use of the most effectual Means that human Pride could be flatter'd with.

It is visible then that it was not any Heathen Religion or other Idolatrous Superstition, that first put Man upon crossing his Appetites and subduing his dearest Inclinations, but the skilful Management of wary Politicians; and the nearer we search into human Nature, the more we shall be convinc'd, that the Moral Virtues are the Political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride.

There is no Man of what Capacity or Penetration soever, that is wholly Proof against the witchcraft of Flattery, if artfully perform'd, and suited to his Abilities. Children and Fools will swallow Personal Praise, but those that are more cunning, must be manag'd with greater Circumspection; and the more general the Flattery is, the less it is suspected by those it is levell'd at. What you say in Commendation of a whole Town is receiv'd with Pleasure by all the Inhabitants: Speak in Commendation of Letters in general, and every Man of Learning will think

think himself in particular obliged to you. You may safely praise the Employment a Man is of, or the Country he was born in; because you give him an opportunity of screening the Joy he feels upon his own account, under the Esteem which he pretends to have for others.

It is common among cunning Men, that understand the Power which Flattery has upon Pride, when they are afraid they shall be impos'd upon to enlarge, tho' much against their Conscience, upon the Honour, fair Dealing and Integrity of the Family, Country, or sometimes the Profession of him they suspect; because they know that Men often will change their Resolution, and act against their Inclination, that they may have the Pleasure of continuing to appear in the Opinion of somewhat they are conscious not to be in reality. Thus Sagacious Moralists draw Men like Angels, in hopes that the Pride at least of some will put 'em upon copying after the beautiful Originals which they are represented to be.

When the Incomparable Mr *Steele* in the usual Elegance of his easy Style, dwells on the Praises of his sublime Species, and with all the Embellishments of Rhetorick, sets forth the Excellency of Human Nature, it is impossible not to be charm'd with his
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happy Turns of Thought, and the Politeness of his Expressions. But tho' I have been often moved by the Force of his Eloquence, and ready to swallow the ingenious Sophistry with Pleasure, yet I could never be so serious but reflecting on his artful Encomiums, I thought on the Tricks made use of by the Women that would teach Children to be mannerly. When an awkward Girl before she can either Speak or Go, begins after many entreaties to make the first rude Essays of Curt'sying: The Nurse falls in an extasy of Praise; *There's a delicate Curt'sy! O fine Miss! There's a pretty Lady! Mama! Miss can make a better Curt'sy than her Sister Molly!* The same is eccho'd over by the Maids; whilst Mama almost hugs the Child to pieces; only Miss *Molly*, who being four Years older, knows how to make a very handsome Curt'sy, wonders at the Perverseness of their Judgment, and swelling with Indignation, is ready to cry at the Injustice that is done her, till being whisper'd in the Ear that it is only to please the Baby, and that she is a Woman; she grows Proud at being let into the Secret, and rejoicing at the Superiority of her Understanding, repeats what has been said with large Additions, and insults over the weakness of her Sister, whom all this while she fancies to be
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the only Bubble among them. These extravagant Praises would by any one, above the Capacity of an Infant, be call'd fulsome Flatteries, and, if you will, abominable Lies; yet Experience teaches us, that by the help of such gross Encomiums, young Misses will be brought to make pretty Curt'sies, and behave themselves womanly much sooner, and with less trouble, than they would without them. 'Tis the same with Boys, whom they'll strive to perswade, that all fine Gentlemen do as they are bid, and that none but Beggar Boys are rude, or dirty their Cloaths; nay, as soon as the wild Brat with his untaught Fist begins to fumble for his Hat, the Mother, to make him pull it off, tells him before he is two Years old, that he is a Man; and if he repeats that Action when she desires him, he's presently a Captain, a Lord Mayor, a King, or something higher if she can think of it, till egg'd on by the force of Praise, the little Urchin endeavours to imitate Man as well as he can, and strains all his Faculties to appear what his shallow Noddle imagines he is believ'd to be.

The meanest Wretch puts an inestimable value upon himself, and the highest wish of the Ambitious Man is to have all the World, as to that particular, of his Opinion: So
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that the most insatiable Thirst after Fame that ever Heroe was inspired with, was never more than an ungovernable Greediness to engross the Esteem and Admiration of others in future Ages as well as his own; and (what Mortification soever this Truth might be to the second Thoughts of an *Alexander* or a *Cesar*) the great Recompence in view; for which the most exalted Minds have with so much Alacrity, sacrific'd their Quiet, Health, sensual Pleasures, and every inch of themselves, has never been any thing else but the Breath of Man, the Aerial Coyn of Praise: For, to define the Reward of Glory in the amplest manner, the most that can be said of it, is, that it consists in a superlative Felicity which a Man, who is conscious of having perform'd a noble Action, enjoys in Self love, whilst he is thinking on the Applause he expects of others.

But here I shall be told, that besides the noisy Exploits of War and publick Bustle of the Ambitious, there are noble and generous Actions that are perform'd in Silence; that Virtue being its own Reward, those who are really Good have a satisfaction in their Consciousness of being so, which is all the Recompence they expect from the most worthy Performances; that among the Heathens there have been Men, who when
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they did good to others, were so far from coveting Thanks and Applause, that they took all imaginable Care to be for ever conceal'd from those on whom they bestow'd their Benefits, and consequently that Pride has no hand in spurring Man on to the highest pitch of Self-denial.

In answer to this I say, that it is impossible to judge of a Man's Performance, unless we are thoroughly acquainted with the Principle and Motive from which he acts. Pity, tho' it is the most gentle and the least mischievous of all our Passions, is yet as much a Frailty of our Nature, as Anger, Pride, or Fear. The weakest Minds have generally the greatest Share of it, for which Reason none are more Compassionate than Women and Children. It must be own'd, that of all our Weaknesses it is the most aimable, and bears the greatest Resemblance to Virtue; nay, without a considerable mixture of it the Society could hardly subsist: But as it is an impulse of Nature, that consults neither the publick Interest nor our own Reason, it may produce Evil as well as Good. It has help'd to destroy the Honour of Virgins, and corrupted the Integrity of Judges, and whoever acts from it as a Principle, what good soever he may bring to the Society, has nothing to boast of but that he has

has indulg'd a Passion that has happened to be beneficial to the Publick. There is no Merit in saving an Innocent Babe ready to drop into the Fire: The Action is neither good nor bad, and what Benefit soever the Infant received, we only obliged our selves; for to have seen it fall, and not strove to hinder it, would have caused a Pain which Self-preservation compell'd us to prevent: Nor has a rich Prodigal, that happens to be of a commiserating Temper, and loves to gratify his Passions, greater Virtue to boast of when he relieves an Object of Compassion with what to himself is a trifle,

But such Men as without complying with any weakness of their own, can part from what they value themselves, and from no other Motive but their Love to Goodness, perform a worthy Action in Silence: Such Men, I confess, have acquir'd more refin'd Notions of Virtue than those I have hitherto spoke of; yet even in these (with which the World has yet never swarm'd) we may discover no small Symptoms of Pride, and the humblest Man alive must confess, that the Reward of a Virtuous Action, which is the Satisfaction that ensues upon it, consists in a certain Pleasure he procures to himself by Contemplating on his own Worth: Which Pleasure, together with the occasion
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of it, are as certain Signs of Pride, as looking pale and trembling at any imminent Danger, are the Symptoms of Fear.

If the too scrupulous Reader should at first View condemn these Notions concerning the Origin of Moral Virtue, and think them perhaps offensive to Christianity, I hope he'll forbear his Censures, when he shall consider, that nothing can render the unfearchable depth of Divine Wisdom more conspicuous than that *Man*, whom Providence had designed for Society, should not only by his own Frailties and Imperfections be led into the Road to Temporal Happiness, but likewise receive, from a seeming Necessity of Natural Causes, a Tincture of that Knowledge, in which he was afterwards to be made perfect by the True Religion, to his Eternal Welfare.

REMARKS

REMARKS.

(A) *Whilst others follow'd Mysteries,
To which few Folks bind 'Prentices.*

Page 3. Line 11.

IN the Education of *Youth*, in order to their getting of a *Livelihood* when they shall be arriv'd at *Maturity*, most People look out for some warrantable Employment or other, of which there are whole *Bodies* or *Companies*, in every large *Society* of *Men*. By this means all *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as *Trades* and *Handicrafts* are perpetuated in the *Commonwealth*, as long as they are found useful; the Young Ones that are daily brought up to 'em, continually supplying the loss of the Old ones that die. But some of these Employments being vastly more Creditable than others, according to the great difference of the Charges required to set up in each of them, all prudent *Parents* in the choice of them chiefly consult their own *Abilities* and the *Circumstances* they are in. A Man that gives Three or
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Four Hundred Pounds with his *Son* to a great *Merchant*, and has not Two or Three Thousand Pounds to spare against he is out of his Time to begin the World with, is much to blame not to have brought his *Child* up to something that might be follow'd with less *Money*.

There are abundance of *Men* of a genteel Education, that have but very small *Revenues*, and yet are forc'd, by their Reputable *Callings*, to make a greater *Figure* than ordinary People of twice their *Income*. If these have any *Children*, it often happens, that as their *Indigence* renders them incapable of bringing them up to creditable *Occupations*, so their *Pride* makes 'em unwilling to put them out to any of the mean laborious *Trades*, and then, in hopes either of an Alteration in their *Fortune*, or that some Friends, or favourable *Opportunity* shall offer, they from time to time put off the disposing of them, till insensibly they come to be of *Age*, and are at last brought up to Nothing. Whether this Neglect be more barbarous to the *Children*, or prejudicial to the *Society*, I shall not determine. At *Athens* all *Children* were forc'd to assist their *Parents*, if they came to *Want*: But *Solon* made a Law, that no *Son* should be oblig'd to relieve his *Father* who had not bred him up to any *Calling*.

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Some *Parents* put out their *Sons* to good *Trades* very suitable to their then present *Abilities*, but happen to dye or fail in the *World*, before the *Children* have finish'd their *Apprenticeships*, or are made fit for the *Business* they are to follow: A great many young *Men* again on the other hand are handsomely provided for and set up for themselves, that yet (some for want of *Industry* or else a sufficient *Knowledge* in their *Callings*, others by indulging their *Pleasures*, and some few by *Misfortunes*) are reduced to *Poverty*, and altogether unable to maintain themselves by the *Business* they were brought up to. It is impossible but that the *Neglects*, *Mismanagements* and *Misfortunes* I named, must very frequently happen in *Populous Places*, and consequently great numbers of *People* be daily flung unprovided for into the wide *World*, how *Rich* and *Potent* a *Commonwealth* may be, or what *Care* soever a *Government* may take to hinder it. How must these *People* be dispos'd of? The *Sea* I know, and *Armies*, which the *World* is seldom without, will take off some. Those that are honest *Drudges*, and of a laborious *Temper*, will become *Journeymen* to the *Trades* they are of, or enter into some other *Service*: Such of them as study'd and were sent to the *University*, may become *Schoolmasters*,

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Tutors, and some few of them get into some Office or other : But what must become of the *Lazy* that care for no manner of working, and the *Fickle* that hate to be confin'd to any Thing?

Those that ever took Delight in Plays and Romances, and have a spice of Gentility, will, in all probability, throw their Eyes up the *Stage*, and if they have a good Elocution with tollerable Mein, turn *Actors*. Some that love their Bellies above every thing else; if they have a good Palate, and a little Knack at Cookery, will strive to get in with *Gluttons* and *Epicures*, learn to cringe and bear all manner of Usage, and so turn *Parasites*, ever flattering the Master, and making Mischief among the rest of the *Family*. Others, who by their own and Companion's Lewdness judge of People's Incontinence, will naturally fall to Intriguing, and endeavour to live by Pimping for such as either want Leisure or Address to speak for themselves. Those of the most abandon'd Principles of all, if they are sly and dextrous, turn *Sharppers*, Pick pockets, or *Coiners*, if their Skill and Ingenuity give them leave. Others again, that have observ'd the Credulity of simple Women, and other foolish People, if they have Impudence and a little Cunning, either set up for *Doctors*, or else pretend to tell

tell Fortunes; and every one turning the Vices and Frailties of others to his own Advantage, endeavours to pick up a Living the easiest and shortest way his Talent and Abilities will let him.

These are certainly the Bane of Civil Society; but they are Fools, who not considering what has been said, storm at the Remissness of the Laws that suffer them to live whilst wise Men content themselves with taking all imaginable Care not to be circumvented by them; without quarrelling, and what no Humane Prudence can prevent.

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(B.) *These were call'd Knaves, but bar t
The grave Industrious were the same.*

Page 3. Line 21. This I confess is but very indifferent Compliment to all the Trading part of the People. But if the Word *Knave* may be understood in its full Latitude and comprehend every Body that is not sincerely honest, and does to others what he would dislike to have done to himself, I don't question but I shall make good the Charge. To pass by the innumerable Artifices, which Buyers and Sellers outwit one another that are daily allowed of and practised among the fairest of *Dealers*; shew me

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Tradesman that has always discover'd the Defects of his Goods to those that cheapen'd them; nay, where will you find one that has not at one time or other industriously conceal'd them to the detriment of the *Buyer*? Where is the Merchant that has never against his Conscience extoll'd his Wares beyond their Worth, to make them go off the better?

Decio a Man of great Figure, that had large Commissions for Sugar from several parts beyond Sea, treats about a considerable parcel of that Commodity with *Alcander*, an eminent *West India* Merchant; both understood the Market very well, but could not agree: *Decio* was a Man of Substance, and thought no Body ought to buy Cheaper than himself, *Alcander* was the same, and not wanting Money, stood for his Price. Whilst they were driving their Bargain at a Tavern near the *Exchange*, *Alcander's* Man brought his Master a Letter from the *West Indies*, that inform'd him of a much greater quantity of Sugars coming for *England* than was expected. *Alcander* now with'd for nothing more than to sell at *Decio's* Price, before the News was publick; but being a cunning Fox, that he might not seem too precipitant, nor yet lose his Customer, he drops the Discourse they were upon, and put-

putting on a Jovial Humour, commends the Agreeableness of the Weather, from whence falling upon the Delight he took in his Gardens, invites *Decio* to go along with him to his Country House, that was not above Twelve Miles from *London*. It was in the Month of *May*, and as it happen'd upon a *Saturday* in the Afternoon, *Decio*, who was a single Man, and would have no Business in Town before *Tuesday*, accepts of the others Civility, and away they go in *Alcander's* Coach. *Decio* was splendidly entertain'd that Night and the Day following; the *Monday* Morning, to get himself an Appetite, he goes to take the Air upon a Pad of *Alcander's*, and coming back meets with a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, who tells him News was come the Night before that the *Barbadoes* Fleet was destroy'd by a Storm, and adds, that before he was come out it had been confirm'd at *Lloyd's* Coffee House, where it was thought Sugars would rise 25 per Cent. by Change time. *Decio* returns to his Friend, and immediately resumes the Discourse they had broke off at the Tavern: *Alcander*, who thinking himself sure of his Chap, did not design to have moved it till after Dinner, was very glad to see himself so happily prevented; but how desirous soever he was to sell, the other was yet more eager

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buy; yet both of them afraid of one another, for a considerable time counterfeited all the Indifference imaginable; till at last *Decio* fired with what he had heard, thought delays might prove dangerous, and throwing a Guinea upon the Table, struck the Bargain at *Alcander's* Price. The next Day they went to *London*; the News prov'd true, and *Decio* got five hundred Pounds by his Sugars. *Alcander*, whilst he had strove to over reach the other, was paid in his own Coin, yet all this is called fair dealing; but I am sure neither of them would have desired to be done by, as they did to each other.

(C.) *The Soldiers that were forc'd to fight,
If they surviv'd, got Honour by't.*

Page 5. Line 19. So unaccountable is the desire to be thought well of in Men, that tho' they are drag'd into the War against their Will, and some of them for their Crimes, and are compell'd to fight with Threats and often Blows, yet they would be esteem'd for what they would have avoided, if it had been in their Power: Whereas if Reason in Man was of equal weight with his Pride, he could never be pleas'd with Praises, which he is conscious he don't deserve.

By Honour in its proper and genuine Signification we mean nothing else but the good Opinion of others, which is counted more or less substantial, the more or less noise or bustle there is made about the demonstration of it, and when we say the Sovereign is the Fountain of Honour, it signifies that he has the Power by Titles or Ceremonies, or both together to stamp a Mark upon whom he pleases, that shall be as current as his Coin, and procure the Owner the good Opinion of every Body, whether he deserves it or not.

The Reverse of Honour is Dishonour or Ignominy, which consists in the bad Opinion and Contempt of others, and as the first is counted a Reward for good Actions, so this is esteem'd a Punishment for bad ones, and the more or less publick or heinous the manner is in which this Contempt of others is shewn, the more or less the Person so suffering is degraded by it. This Ignominy is likewise called Shame, from the effect it produces; for tho' the Good and Evil of Honour and Dishonour are imaginary, yet there is a reality in Shame, as it signifies a Passion that has its proper Symptoms, overrules our Reason, and requires as much Labour and Self-denial to be subdued, as any of the rest; and since the most important Actions of Life often are regulated according

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to the Influence this Passion has upon us, a thorough understanding of it must help to illustrate the Notions the World has of Honour and Ignominy. I shall therefore describe it at large.

First to define the Passion of Shame I think it may be call'd *a sorrowful Reflection on our own unworthiness proceeding from an Apprehension that others either do or might, if they knew all, deservedly despise us.* The only Objection of weight that can be rais'd against this Definition is, that innocent Virgins are often asham'd, and blush when they are guilty of no Crime, and can give no manner of Reason for this Frailty: And that Men are often asham'd for others, for, or with whom, they have neither Friendship or Affinity, and consequently that there may be a thousand Instances of Shame given, to which the Words of the Definition are not applicable. To answer this, I would have it first consider'd, that the Modesty of Woman is the Result of Custom and Education, by which all unfashionable Denudations and filthy Expressions are render'd frightful and abominable to them, and that notwithstanding this the most Vertuous young Woman alive will often, in spite of her Teeth, have Thoughts and confused Ideas of Things arise in her Imagination, which she would not

reveal to some People for a thousand Worlds. Then I say, that when obscene Words are spoken in the presence of an unexperienc'd Virgin, she is afraid that some Body will reckon her to understand what they mean, and consequently that she understands this, and that, and several things which she desires to be thought ignorant of. The reflecting on this, and that Thoughts are forming to her Disadvantage, brings upon her that Passion which we call Shame; and whatever can sting her, tho' never so remote from Lewdness, upon that Set of Thoughts I hinted, and which she thinks Criminal, will have the same effect, especially before Men, as long as her Modesty lasts.

To try the Truth of this, let them talk as much Bawdy as they please in the Room next to the same Vertuous young Woman, where she is sure that she is undiscover'd, and she will hear, if not hearken to it without blushing at all, because then she looks upon her self as no Party concern'd; and if the Discourse should stain her Cheeks with red, whatever her Innocence may imagine, it is certain that what occasions her Colour is a Passion not half so mortifying as that of Shame; but if in the same Place she hears something said of herself that must tend to her Disgrace, or any thing is named, of

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which she is secretly guilty, then 'tis Ten to One but she'll be asham'd and blush, tho' no Body sees her; because she has room to fear, that she is, or, if all was known, should be thought of Contemptibly.

That we are often asham'd, and blush for others, which was the second part of the Objection, is nothing else, but that sometimes we make the Case of others too nearly our own; so People shriek out when they see others in danger: Whilst we are reflecting with too much earnest on the effect which such a blameable Action, if it was ours, would produce in us, the Spirits and consequently the Blood, are insensibly moved after the same manner, as if the Action was our own, and so the same Symptoms must appear.

The Shame that raw, ignorant and ill bred People, tho' seemingly without a Cause, discover before their Betters, is always accompanied with, and proceeds from a Consciousness of their Weakness and Inabilities, and the most modest Man, how Vertuous, Knowing and Accomplish'd soever he might be, was never yet asham'd without some Guilt or Diffidence. Such as out of Rusticity, and want of Education are unreasonably subject to, and at every turn overcome by this Passion, we call bashful; and those who out of disrespect to others, and a false Opini-

on of their own Sufficiency, have learn'd not to be affected with it, when they should be; are call'd Impudent or Shameless. What strange Contradictions Man is made of! The Reverse of Shame is Pride. (*see Remark L.*) yet no Body can be touch'd with the first, that never felt any thing of the latter; for that we have such an extraordinary Concern in what others think of us, can proceed from nothing but the vast Esteem we have for our selves.

That these two Passions, in which the Seeds of most Vertues are contained, are realities in our frame and not imaginary Qualities, is demonstrable from the plain and different effects, that in spite of our Reason are produced in us as soon as we are affected with either.

When a Man is overwhelm'd with Shame, he observes a sinking of the Spirits, the Heart feels cold and condensed, and the Blood flies from it to the Circumference of the Body; the Face glows, the Neck and part of the Breast partake of the Fire: He is heavy as Lead; the Head is hung down; and the Eyes through a Mist of Confusion, are fix'd on the Ground: No Injuries can move him; he is weary of his Being, and heartily wishes he could make himself invisible: But when, gratifying his Vanity, he
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exults in his Pride he discovers quite contrary Symptoms: His Spirits swell and fan the Arterial Blood, a more than ordinary warmth strengthens and dilates the Heart; the Extremities are cool; he feels light to himself, and imagines he could tread on Air; his Head is held up, his Eyes rowl'd about with Sprightliness; he rejoices at his Being, is prone to Anger, and would be glad that all the World could take Notice of him.

(D.) *For there was not a Bee but would
Get more, I don't say, than he should;
But then, &c.*

Page 6. Line 19. The vast Esteem we have for our selves, and the small value we have for others, make us all very unfair Judges in our own Cases. Few Men can be perswaded that they get too much by those they sell to, how extraordinary soever their Gains are, when at the same time there is hardly a Profit so inconsiderable, but they'll grudge it to those they buy from; for this Reason the smallness of the Seller's Advantage being the greatest Perswasive to the Buyer, Tradesmen are generally forc'd to tell Lyes in their own Defence, and invent a thousand improbable Stories, rather than discover what they really get by their Commodities.

Some old Standers indeed that pretend to more Honesty, (or what is more likely, have more Pride) than their Neighbours, are used to make but few Words with their Customers, and refuse to sell at a lower Price than what they ask'd at first. But these are commonly cunning Foxes that are above the World, and know that those who have Money, get often more by being surly, than others by being obliging. The Vulgar imagine they can find more Sincerity in the sour Looks of a grave old Fellow, than there appears in the submissive Air and inviting Complacency of a young Beginner. But this is a grand Mistake; and if they are Mercers, Drapers, or others, that have many sorts of the same Commodity, you may soon be satisfied; look upon their Goods and you'll find each of them have their private Marks, which is a certain Sign that both are equally careful in concealing the prime Cost of what they sell.

(E.) ——— *As your Gamesters do,
Who tho at fair Playne'er will own,
Before the Losers what they've won.*

Page 6, Line 22. This being a general Practice which no Body can be ignorant of that has ever seen any Play there must be some-

something in the Make of Man that is the occasion of it: But as the searching into this will seem very trifling to many, I desire the Reader to skip this Remark, unless he be in perfect good Humour, and has nothing at all to do.

That Gamesters generally endeavour to conceal their Gains before the Losers, seems to me to proceed from a mixture of Gratitude, Pity and Self-Preservation. All Men are naturally grateful whilst they receive a Benefit, and what they say or do, whilst it affects and feels warm about them, is real, and comes from the Heart; but when that is over, the returns we make generally proceed from Virtue, good Manners, Reason, and the thoughts of Duty, but not from Gratitude, which is a Motive of the Inclination. If we consider, how tyrannically the Immoderate Love we bear to our selves, obliges us to esteem every body that with or without design acts in our favour, and how often we extend our Affection to things inanimate, when we imagine them to contribute to our present Advantage: If, I say, we consider this, it will not be difficult to find out which way our being pleased with those whose Money we win, is owing to a Principle of Gratitude. The next Motive is our Pity, which proceeds from our conscious-

ness of the Vexation there is in losing; and as we love the Esteem of every body, we are afraid of forfeiting theirs by being the cause of their Loss. Lastly, we apprehend their Envy, and so Self-Preservation makes that we strive to extenuate first the Obligation, then the Reason why we ought to Pity, in hopes that we shall have less of their ill Will and Envy. When the Passions shew themselves in their full Strength, they are known by every body. When a Man in Power gives a great Place to one that did him a small kindness in his Youth, we call it Gratitude. When a Woman howls and wrings her Hands at the loss of her Child, the prevalent Passion is Grief; and the uneasiness we feel at the sight of great Misfortunes, as a Man's breaking his Leg, or dashing his Brains out, is every where call'd Pity. But the gentle stroaks the slight touches of the Passions are generally over-look'd or mistaken.

To prove my Assertion we have but to observe, what generally passes between the *Winner* and the *Loser*. The first is always Complaisant, and if the other will but keep his Temper more than ordinarily obliging, he is ever ready to humour the *Loser*, and willing to rectify his Mistakes with Precaution, and the height of good Manners. The
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Lofer is uneasy, captious, morose, and perhaps Swears and Storms; yet as long as he says or does nothing designedly affronting, the Winner takes all in good part, without offending, disturbing, or contradicting him. *Losers*, says the Proverb, *must have leave to rail*: All which shews, that the Lofer is thought in the right to complain, and for that Reason pity'd. That we are afraid of the Lofer's ill Will is plain from our being conscious that we are displeased with those we lose to, and Envy we always dread when we think our selves happier than others; from whence it follows, that when the *Winner* endeavours to conceal his Gains, his design is to avert the Mischiefs he apprehends, and this is Self-Preservation; the Cares of which continue to affect us as long as the Motives that first produced them remain.

But a Month, a Week, or perhaps a much shorter time after, when the Thoughts of the Obligation, and consequently the Winner's Gratitude are worn off, when the Lofer has recover'd his Temper, laughs at his Loss, and the Reason of the Winner's Pity ceases; when the Winner's apprehension of drawing upon him the ill Will and Envy of the *Lofer* is gone; that is to say, as soon as all the Passions are over, and the Cares of Self-Preservation employ the Winner's Thoughts

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no longer, he'll not only make no scruple in owning what he has won, but will, if his Vanity steps in, likewise, with Pleasure, brag of, if not exaggerate his Gains.

It is possible, that when People play together who are at Enmity, and perhaps desirous of picking a Quarrel, or where Men playing for Trifles contend for Superiority of Skill, and aim chiefly at the Glory of Conquest, nothing shall happen of what I have been talking of. Different Passions oblige us to take different Measures; what I have said I would have understood of ordinary Play for Money, at which Men endeavour to get, and venture to lose what they value: And even here I know it will be objected by many, that tho' they have been guilty of concealing their Gains, yet they never observ'd those Passions which I alledge as the Causes of that Frailty; which is no wonder, because few Men will give themselves leisure, and fewer yet take the right Method of examining themselves as they should do. It is with the Passions in Men as it is with Colours in Cloth: It is easy to know a Red, a Green, a Blue, a Yellow, a Black, &c. in as many different Pieces; but it must be an Artist that can unravel all the various Colours and their Proportions, that make up the Compound of a well mix'd Cloth.

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In the same manner may the Passions be discover'd by every body whilst they are distinct, and a single one employs the whole Man; but it is very difficult to trace every Motive of those Actions that are the Result of a mixture of Passions.

(F.) *And Virtue, who from Politicks
Had learn'd a thousand cunning Tricks,
Was by their happy Influence
Made Friends with Vice.——*

Page 8. Line 9. It may be said, that Virtue is made Friends with Vice, when industrious good People, who maintain their Families and bring up their Children handsomely, pay Taxes, and are several ways useful Members of the Society, get a livelihood by something that chiefly depends on, or is very much influenc'd by the Vices of others, without being themselves guilty of, or necessary to them any otherwise than by way of Trade, as a Druggist may be to Poysoning, or a Sword Cutler to Bloodshed.

Thus the Merchant, that sends Corn or Cloth into Foreign Parts to purchase Wines and Brandies, encourages the Growth or Manufactory of his own Country; he is a Benefactor to Navigation, encreases the Customs

stoms, and is many ways beneficial to the Publick; yet it is not to be denied but that his greatest dependance is *Lavishness* and *Drunkenness*: For if none were to drink Wine but such only as stand in need of it, nor any body more than his Health requir'd, that Multitude of Wine-Merchants, Vintners, Coopers, &c. that make such a considerable Shew in this flourishing City, would be in a miserable Condition. The same may be said not only of Card and Dice-makers, that are the immediate Ministers to a Legion of Vices; but that of Mercers, Upholsterers, Taylors, and many others that would be starv'd in half a Years time, if *Pride* and *Luxury* were at once to be banish'd the Nation.

(G.) *The worst of all the Multitude
Did something for the Common Good.*

Page 8. Line 13. This I know will seem to be a strange Paradox to many; and I shall be ask'd what Benefit the Publick receives from Thieves and House-breakers. They are, I own, very pernicious to Human Society, and every Government ought to take all imaginable Care to rout out and destroy them; yet if all People were strictly honest, and no body would meddle with or

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pry into any thing but his own, half the Smiths of the Nation would want Employment; and abundance of Workmanship (which now serves for Ornament as well as Defence) is to be seen every where both in Town and Country, that would never have been thought of, but to secure us against the Attempts of Pilferers and Robbers.

(H.) *Parties directly opposite,
Assist each other, as 'twere for spite.*

Page 8 Line 19. Nothing was more instrumental in forwarding the Reformation, than the Sloth and Stupidity of the Roman Clergy; yet the same Reformation has rous'd 'em from the Laziness and Ignorance they then labour'd under, and the followers of *Luther, Calvin*, and others, may be said to have reform'd not only those whom they drew in to their Sentiments, but likewise those that remain'd their greatest Opposers. The Clergy of *England* by being severe upon the Schismatics, and upbraiding them with want of Learning, have rais'd themselves such formidable Enemies as are not easily answer'd; and again, the Dissenters by prying into the Lives, and diligently watching all the Actions of their powerful Antagonists, render those of the Establish'd Church

Church more cautious of giving Offence, than in all probability they would, if they had no malicious over-lookers to fear. It is very much owing to the great number of *Hugonots* that have always been in *France*, since the late utter Extirpation of them, that that Kingdom has a less dissolute and more learned Clergy to boast of than any other *Roman Catholick* Country. The Clergy of that Church are no where more Sovereign than in *Italy*, and therefore no where more debauch'd; nor any where more Ignorant than they are in *Spain*, because their Doctrine is no where less oppos'd.

Who would imagine, that Virtuous Women, unknowingly should be instrumental in promoting the Advantage of Prostitutes? Or (what seems the greater Paradox) that Incontinence should be made serviceable to the Preservation of Chastity? And yet nothing is more true. A Vicious young Fellow, after having been an Hour to two at Church, a Ball, or any other Assembly, where there is a great parcel of handsome Women dress'd to the best Advantage, will have his Imagination more fired than if he had the same time been Poling at *Guildhall*, or walking in the Country among a Flock of Sheep. The consequence of this is, that he'll strive to satisfy the Appetite that is raised

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raised in him; and when he finds honest Women obstinate and uncomatable, 'tis very natural to think, that he'll hasten to others that are more compliable. Who wou'd so much as surmise, that this is the fault of the Virtuous Women? They have no Thoughts of Men in dressing themselves, Poor Souls, and endeavour only to appear clean and decent, every one according to her Quality.

I am far from encouraging Vice, and think it would be an unspeakable Felicity to a State, if the Sin of Uncleanness could be utterly banish'd from it; but I am afraid it is impossible. The Passions of some People are too violent to be curb'd by any Law or Precept; and it is Wisdom in all Governments to bear with lesser Inconveniencies to prevent greater. If Courtezans and Strumpets were to be prosecuted with as much Rigour as some silly People would have it, what Locks or Bars would be sufficient to preserve the Honour of our Wives and Daughters? For 'tis not only that the Women in general would meet with far greater Temptations, and the Attempts to ensnare the Innocence of Virgins would seem more excusable even to the sober part of Mankind than they do now: But some Men would grow outrageous, and ravishing would become

come a common Crime. Where Six or Seven Thousand Sailors arrive at once, as it often happens at *Amsterdam*, that have seen none but their own Sex for many Months together, how is it to be suppos'd that honest Women should walk the Streets unmolested, if there were no Harlots to be had at reasonable Prizes? For which Reason the Wise Rulers of that well order'd City always tolerate an uncertain number of Houses, in which Women are hir'd as publickly as Horses at a Livery Stable; and there being in this Toleration a great deal of Prudence and Oeconomy to be seen, a short account of it will be no tiresome digression.

In the first place the Houses I speak of are allow'd to be no where but in the most slovenly and unpolish'd part of the Town, where Seamen and Strangers of no Repute chiefly lodge and resort. The Street in which most of them stand is counted scandalous, and the Infamy is extended to all the Neighbourhood round it. In the second, they are only Places to meet and bargain in to make Appointments in order to promote Interviews of greater Secrecy, and no manner of Lewdness is ever suffer'd to be transacted in them; which order is so strictly observ'd, that bar the ill Manners and Noise of the Company that frequent them, you'll meet with no more Indecency, and generally
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less Lasciviousness there, than with us are to be seen at a Playhouse. Thirdly, the Female Traders that come to these Evening Exchanges are always the Scum of the People, and generally such as in the Day time carry Fruit and other Eatables about in Wheel barrows. The Habits indeed they appear in at Night are very different from their ordinary ones; yet they are commonly so ridiculously Gay, that they look more like the *Roman* Dresses of strolling Actresses than Gentlewomen's Cloaths: If to this you add the awkwardness, the hard Hands, and course breeding of the Damsels that wear them, there is no great Reason to fear, that many of the better sort of People will be tempted by them.

The Musick in these Temples of *Venus* is perform'd by Organs, not out of Respect to the Deity that is worship'd in them, but the frugality of the Owners, whose Business it is to procure as much sound for as little Money as they can, and the Policy of the Government, who endeavours as little as is possible, to encourage the Breed of Pipers and Scrapers. All Sea-faring Men, especially the *Dutch*, are like the Element they belong to, much given to loudness and roaring, and the Noise of half a dozen of them, when they call themselves Merry, is sufficient to drown twice the number of Flutes or Violins;

lins; whereas with one pair of Organs they can make the whole House ring, and are at no other Charge than the keeping of one scurvy Musician, which can cost them but little; yet notwithstanding the good Rules and strict Discipline that are observ'd in these Markets of Love, the *Schout* and his Officers are always vexing, mulcting, and upon the least Complaint removing the miserable Keepers of them: Which Policy is of two great uses; first it gives an opportunity to a large parcel of Officers, the Magistrates make use of on many Occasions, and which they could not be without, to squeeze a Living out of the immoderate Gains accruing from the worst of Employments, and at the same time punish those necessary Profligates, the Bawds and Panders, which, tho' they abominate, they desire yet not wholly to destroy. Secondly, as on several accounts it might be dangerous to let the Multitude into the Secret, that those Houses and the Trade that is drove in them are conniv'd at, so by this means appearing unblameable, the wary Magistrates preserve themselves in the good Opinion of the weaker sort of People, who imagine that the Government is always endeavouring, tho' unable, to suppress what it actually tolerates. - Whereas if they had a mind to rout them out, their Power
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in the Administration of Justice is so sovereign and extensive, and they know so well how to have it executed, that one Week, nay one Night, might send them all a packing.

In *Italy* the Toleration of Strumpets is yet more barefac'd, as is evident from their publick Stews. At *Venice* and *Naples* Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick; the *Courtezans* at *Rome*, and the *Cantonerias* in *Spain*, compose a Body in the State, and are under a Legal Tax and Impost. 'Tis well known, that the Reason why so many good Politicians as these tolerate lewd Houses, is not their Irreligion, but to prevent a worse Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour. About Two hundred and fifty Years ago, says Monsieur de St Didier, *Venice* being in want of Courtezans, the Republick was obliged to procure a great number from Foreign Parts. Dogliani, who has written the memorable Affairs of *Venice*, highly extols the Wisdom of the Republick in this Point, which secur'd the Chastity of Women of Honour daily exposed to publick Violences, the Churches and consecrated Places not being a sufficient Aylum for their Chastity.

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Our Univerfites in *England* are much bely'd if in fome Colleges there was not a Monthly Allowance *ad expurgandos Renes*; and time was when the Monks and Priests in *Germany* were allow'd Concubines on paying a certain yearly Duty to their Prelate: 'Tis generally believ'd, fays Monsieur Bayle, that *Avarice* was the Cause of this shameful Indulgence; but it is more probable their design was to prevent their tempting modest Women, and to quiet the uneafinefs of Husbands, whose Reſentments the Clergy do well to avoid. From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that there is a Neceſſity of ſacrificing one part of Womankind to preſerve the other, and prevent a Filthynefs of a more heinous Nature. From whence I think I may juſtly conclude (what was the ſeeming Paradox I went about to prove) that Chſtity may be ſupported by Incontinence, and the beſt of Virtues want the Aſſiſtance of the worſt of Vices.

(I.) *The Root of Evil Avarice,
That damn'd ill Natur'd baneful Vice,
Was ſlave to Prodigality.*

Page 3. Line 23. I have joyn'd ſo many odious Epithets to the Word *Avarice*, in compliance to the Vogue of Mankind, who generally beſtow more ill Language upon
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this than upon any other Vice; and indeed not undeservedly; for there is hardly a Mischief to be named which it has not produc'd at one time or other: But the true Reason why every Body exclaims so much against it, is, that almost every Body suffers by it; for the more the Money is hoarded up by some, the scarcer it must grow among the rest, and therefore when Men rail very much at Misers, there is generally self Interest at bottom.

As there is no living without Money, so those that are unprovided, and have no Body to give them any, are oblig'd to do some Service or other to the Society, before they can come at it; but every Body esteeming his Labour as he does himself, which is generally not under the Value, most People that want Money only to spend it again presently, imagine they do more for it than it is worth. Men can't forbear looking upon the Necessaries of Life as their due, whether they work or not, because they find that Nature, without consulting whether they have Victuals or not, bids them eat whenever they are hungry; for which Reason every Body endeavours to get what he wants with as much Ease as he can; and therefore when Men find that the trouble they are put to in getting Money is

is either more or less, according as those they would have it from are more or less tenacious, it is very natural for them to be angry at Covetousness in general; for it obliges them either to go without what they have occasion for or else to take greater Pains for it than they are willing.

Avarice, notwithstanding it is the occasion of so many Evils, is yet very necessary to the Society to glean and gather what has been dropt and scatter'd by the contrary Vice. Was it not for Avarice, Spend-thrifts would soon want Materials; and if none would lay up and get faster than they spend, very few could spend faster than they get. That it is a Slave to Prodigality, as I have call'd it, is evident from so many Misers as we daily see toil and labour, pinch and starve themselves to enrich a lavish Heir. Tho' these two Vices appear very opposite, yet they often assist each other, *Florio* is an extravagant young Blade, of a very profuse Temper; as he is the only Son of a very rich Father, he wants to live high, keep Horses and Dogs, and throw his Money about, as he sees some of his Companions do; but the old Hunks will part with no Money, and hardly allows him Necessaries. *Florio* would have borrow'd Money upon his own Credit long ago; but as all would be lost,

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if he died before his Father, no prudent Man would lend him any. At last he has met with the greedy *Cornaro*, who lets him have Money at Thirty *per Cent.* and now *Florio* thinks himself happy, and spends a Thousand a Year Where would *Cornaro* ever have got such a prodigious Interest, if it was not for such a Fool as *Florio*, who will give so great a Price for Money to fling it away? And how would *Florio* get it to spend, if he had not lit of such a greedy Usurer as *Cornaro*, whose excessive Covetousness makes him overlook the great Risque he runs in venturing such great Sums upon the Life of a wild Debauchee.

Avarice is no longer the Reverse of Profuseness, than whilst it signifies that sordid love of Money, and narrowness of Soul that hinders Misers from parting with what they have, and makes them covet it only to hoard up. But there is a sort of Avarice which consists in a greedy desire of Riches, in order to spend them, and this often meets with Prodigality in the same Persons, as is evident in most Courtiers and great Officers, both Civil and Military. In their Buildings and Furniture, Equipages and Entertainments, their Gallantry is display'd with the greatest Profusion, whilst the base Actions they submit to for Lucre, and the many

Frauds and Impositions they are guilty of, discover the utmost Avarice. This mixture of contrary Vices comes up exactly to the Character of *Catiline*, of whom it is said, that he was *appetens alieni & sui profusus* greedy after the Goods of others and lavish of his own.

(K.) *That noble Sin*—————

Page 9. Line 2. The Prodigality, I call a noble Sin, is not that which has Avarice for its Companion, and makes Men unreasonably profuse to some of what they unjustly extort from others, but that agreeable good natur'd Vice that makes the Chimneys smok and all the Tradesmen smile, I mean the unmix'd Prodigality of heedless and Voluptuous Men, that being educated in Plenty, abhor the vile Thoughts of Lucre, and lavish away only what others took Pains to scrape together; such as indulge their Inclinations at their own Expence, that have the continual Satisfaction of bartering old Gold for new Pleasures, and from the excessive largeness of a diffusive Soul, are made guilty of dispersing too much what most People over value.

When I speak thus honourably of this Vice, and treat it with so much Tenderneſs and

and good Manners as I do, I have the same thing at Heart that made me give so many ill Names to the Reverse of it, *viz.* The Interest of the Publick; for as the Avaricious does no good to himself, and is injurious to all the World besides, except his Heir. so the Prodigal is a Blessing to the whole Society, and injures no body but himself: It is true, that as most of the first are Knaves, so the latter are all Fools; yet they are delicious Morsels for the Publick to feast on, and may with as much Justice as the *French* call the Monks the Patridges of the Women, be stiled the Woodcocks of the Society. Was it not for Prodigality, nothing could make us amends for the Rapine and Extortion of Avarice in Power. When a Covetous Statesman is gone, who spent his whole Life in fat'ning himself with the spoils of the Nation, and had by pinching and plundering heap'd up an immense Treasure, it ought to fill every good Member of the Society with Joy, to behold the uncommon Profuseness of his Son. This is refunding to the Publick what was robb'd from it. Resuming of Grants is a barbarous way of stripping, and it is ignoble to ruin a Man faster than he does it himself, when he sets about it in such good earnest. Does he not feed an infinite number of Dogs of all sorts

and fizes, tho' he never Hunts; keeps more Horfes than any Nobleman in the Kingdom, tho' he never rides 'em, and give as large an allowance to an ill favour'd Whore as would keep a Dutcheſs, tho' he never lies with her? Is he not ſtill more extravagant in thoſe things he makes uſe of? Therefore let him alone or praiſe him, call him Publick ſpirited Lord, nobly Bountiful and magnificently Generous, and in few Years he ll ſuffer himſelf to be ſtrip'd his own way. As long as the Nation has its own back again, we ought not to quarrel with the manner in which the Plunder is repaid.

Abundance of moderate Men I know that are Enemies to Extreame, will tell me that Frugality might happily ſupply the Place of the two Vices I ſpeak of, that, if Men had not ſo many profuſe ways of ſpending Wealth, they would not be tempted to ſo many evil Practices to ſcrape it together, and conſequently that the ſame number of Men by equally avoiding both Extreame, might render themſelves more happy, and be leſs vicious without, than they could with them. Whoever argues ſhews himſelf a better Man than he is a Politician. Frugality is like Honesty, a mean ſtarving Virtue, that is only fit for ſmall Societies of good peaceable Men, who are contented to be poor ſo
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they may be easy; but in a large stirring Nation you may have soon enough of it. 'Tis an idle dreaming Virtue that employs no Hands, and therefore very useless in a trading Country, where there are vast numbers that one way or other must be all set to Work. Prodigality has a thousand Inventions to keep People from sitting still, that Frugality would never think of; and as this must consume a prodigious Wealth, so Avarice again knows innumerable Tricks to rake it together, which Frugality would scorn to make use of.

Authors are always allow'd to compare small things to great ones, especially if they ask leave first. *Si licet exemplis*, &c. but to compare great things to mean trivial ones is insufferable, unless it be in Burlesque; otherwise I would compare the Body Politick (I confess the Simile is very low) to a Bowl of Punch. Avarice should be the sow'ring, and Prodigality the sweetning of it. The Water I would call the Ignorance, Folly and Credulity of the floating insipid Multitude; whilst Wisdom, Honour, Fortitude, and the rest of the sublime Qualities of Men, which separated by Art from the dregs of Nature, the fire of Glory has exalted and refin'd into a Spiritual Essence, should be an equivalent to Brandy. I don't doubt

but a *Westphalian*, *Laplander*, or any other dull Stranger that is unacquainted with the wholesome Composition, if he was to taste the several Ingredients apart, would think it impossible they should make any tolerable Liquor. The Lemons would be too sower, the Sugar too luscious, the Brandy he'll say is too strong ever to be drank in any quantity, and the Water he'll call a tasteless Liquor only fit for Cows and Horses: Yet Experience teaches us, that the Ingredients I named judiciously, mixt, will make an excellent Liquor, lik'd of and admir'd by Men of exquisite Palates.

As to our two Vices in particular, I could compare Avarice, that causes so much Mischiefe, and is complain'd of by every body who is not a Miser, to a griping Acid that sets our Teeth on edge, and is unpleasant to every Palate that is not debauch'd: I could compare the gaudy Trimming and spendid Equipage of a profuse Beau, to the glistening brightness of the finest Loaf Sugar; for as the one by correcting the sharpness prevents the injuries which a gnawing Sower might do to the Bowels, so the other is a pleasing Balsam that heals and makes amends for the smart, which the Multitude always suffers from the Gripes of the Avaricious: whilst the substances of both melt away alike, and they

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they consume themselves by being beneficial to the several Compositions they belong to. I could carry on the Simile as to proportions, and the exact nicety to be observ'd in them, which would make it appear how little any of the Ingredients could be spared in either of the Mixtures: But I will not tire my Reader by pursuing too far a ludicrous Comparison, when I have other Matters to entertain him with of greater Importance; and to sum up what I have said in this and the foregoing Remark, shall only add, that I look upon Avarice and Prodigality in the Society as I do upon two contrary Poysons in Physick, of which it is certain that the noxious qualities being by mutual mischief corrected in both, they may assist each other, and often make a good Medicine between them.

(L.) ———— *Whilst Luxury
Employ'd a Million of the Poor, &c.*

Page 9. Line 2. If every thing is to be Luxury (as in strictness it ought) that is not immediately necessary to make Man subsist as he is a living Creature, there is nothing else to be found in the World, no not even among the naked Savages; of which it is not probable that there are any but what by

this time have made some Improvements upon their former manner of Living; and either in the preparation of their Eatables, the ordering of their Huts, or otherwise added something to what once sufficed them. This definition every body will say is too rigorous; I am of the same Opinion, but if we are to abate one Inch of this Severity, I am afraid we shan't know where to stop. When People tell us they only desire to keep themselves sweat and clean, there is no understanding what they would be at, if they made use of these Words in their genuine, proper, literal Sense, they might soon be satisfy'd without much cost or trouble, if they did not want Water: But these two little adjectives are so comprehensive, especially in the Dialect of some Ladies, that no body can guess how far they may be stretcht. The Comforts of Life are likewise so various and extensive, that no body can tell what People mean by them, except he knows what sort of Life they lead. The same obscurity I observe in the words Decency and Conveniency, and I never understand them unless I am acquainted with the quality of the Persons that make use of them. People may go to Church together, and be all of one Mind as much as they please, I am apt to believe that when they Pray for their daily Bread

Bread, the Bishop includes several things in that Petition which the Sexton does not think on.

By what I have said hitherto I would only shew, that if once we depart from calling every thing Luxury that is not absolutely necessary to keep a Man alive, that then there is no Luxury at all, for if the wants of Men are innumerable, then what ought to supply them has no bounds; what is call'd superfluous to some degree of People will be thought requisite to those of higher Quality; and neither the World nor the Skill of Man can produce any thing so curious or extravagant, but some most Gracious Sovereign or other, if it either eases or diverts him, will reckon it among the Necessaries of Life; not meaning every Bodys Life, but that of his Sacred Person.

It is a receiv'd Notion, that Luxury is as destructive to the Wealth of the whole Body Politick, as it is to that of every individual Person who is guilty of it; and that a National Frugality enriches a Country in the same manner as that which is less general increases the Estates of Private Families. I confess, that tho' I have found Men of much better Understanding than my self of this Opinion, I cannot help dissenting from them in this Point. They argue thus: We send, say they

they, for Example to *Turkey* of Woollen Manufactory, and other things of our own Growth, a Million worth every Year; for this we bring back Silk, Mohair, Drugs, &c. to the value of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds, that are all spent in our own Country. By this, say they, we get nothing; but if most of us would be content with our own Growth, and so consume but half the quantity of those Foreign Commodities, then those in *Turkey*, who would still want the same quantity of our Manufactures, would be forc'd to pay ready Money for the rest, and so by the Ballance of that Trade only, the Nation should get Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

To examine the force of this Argument, we'll suppose (what they would have) that but half the Silk, &c. shall be consumed in *England* of what there is now; we'll suppose likewise that those in *Turkey*, tho' we refuse to buy above half as much of their Commodities as we us'd to do, either can or will not be without the same quantity of our Manufactures they had before, and that they'll pay the Balance in Money; that is to say, that they shall give us as much Gold or Silver as the value of what they buy from us exceeds the value of what they buy from them. Tho' what we suppose might per-
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haps be done for one Year, it is impossible it should last: Buying is Bartering, and no Nation can buy Goods of others that has none of her own to purchase them with. *Spain* and *Portugal*, that are yearly supply'd with new Gold and Silver from their Mines, may for ever buy for ready Money as long as their yearly encrease of Gold or Silver continues, but then Money is their Growth and the Commodity of the Country. We know that we could not continue long to purchase the Goods of other Nations, if they would not take our Manufactures in Payment for them; and why should we judge otherwise of other Nations? If those in *Turkey* then had no more Money fall from the Skies than we, let us see what would be the consequence of what we supposed. The Six Hundred Thousand Pounds in Silk, Mohair, &c. that are left upon their Hands the first Year, must make those Commodities fall considerably: Of this the *Dutch* and *French* will reap the Benefits as much as our selves; and if we continue to refuse taking their Commodities in Payment for our Manufactures, they can Trade no longer with us, but must content themselves with buying what they want of such Nations as are willing to take what we refuse, tho' their Goods are much worse than ours, and thus

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our Commerce with *Turkey* must in few Years be infallibly lost.

But they'll say, perhaps, that to prevent the ill consequence I have shew'd, we'll take the *Turkish* Merchandizes as formerly, we only shall be so frugal as to consume but half the quantity of them our selves, and send the rest Abroad to be sold to others. Let us see what this will do, and whether it will enrich the Nation by the Balance of that Trade with Six Hundred Thousand Pounds. In the first Place, I'll grant them that our People at Home making use of so much more of our own Manufactures, those who were employ'd in Silk, Mohair, &c. will get a living by the various Preparations of Woollen Goods. But in the second, I cannot allow that the Goods can be sold as formerly; for suppose the half that is wore at Home to be sold at the same rate as before, certainly the other half that is sent Abroad will want very much of it: For we must send those Goods to Markets already supply'd; and besides that, there must be Freight, Insurance, Provision, and all other Charges deducted, and the Merchants in general must lose much more by this half that is re shipp'd, than they got by the half that is consumed here. For tho' the Woollen Manufactures are our own Product, yet they

they stand the Merchant that Ships them off to Foreign Countries, in as much as they do the Shopkeeper here that retails them; so that if the Returns for what he sends Abroad repay him not what his Goods cost him here, with all other Charges, till he has the Money and a good Interest for it in Cash, the Merchant must run out, and the upshot would be, that the Merchants in general finding they lost by the *Turkish* Commodities they send Abroad, would Ship no more of our Manufactures than what would pay for as much Silk, Mohair, &c. as would be consumed here. Other Nations would soon find ways to supply them with as much as we should send short, and some where or other to dispose of the Goods we should refuse: So that all we should get by this Frugality would be, that those in *Turkey* would take but half the quantity of our Manufactures of what they do now, whilst we encourage and wear their Merchandizes, without which they are not able to purchase ours.

What is laid to the charge of Luxury besides, is, that it encreases Avarice and Rapine; and where they are reigning Vices, Offices of the greatest Trust are bought and sold; the Ministers that should serve the Publick, both great and small, corrupted, and

and the Country every Moment in danger of being betray'd to the highest Bidder: And lastly, that it effeminates and enervates the People, by which the Nations become an easy Prey to the first Invaders. These are indeed terrible things; but what is put to the account of Luxury belongs to Male-Administration, and is the Fault of bad Politics. Every Government ought to be thoroughly acquainted with, and stedfastly to pursue the Interest of the Country. Good Politicians, by dextrous Management, laying heavy Impositions on some Goods, or totally prohibiting them, and lowering the Duties on others, may always turn and divert the course of Trade which way they please, and as they'll ever prefer, if it be equally considerable, the Commerce with such Countries as can pay with Money as well as Goods to those that can make no Returns for what they buy, but in the Commodities of their own Growth and Manufacture, so they will always carefully prevent the Traffick with such Nations as refuse the Goods of others, and will take nothing but Money for their own. But above all, they'll keep a watchful Eye over the Balance of Trade in general, and never suffer that all the Foreign Commodities together that are imported in one Year, shall exceed

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in Value what of their own Growth or Manufacture is in the same exported to others. Note, that I speak now of the Interest of those Nations that have no Gold or Silver of their own Growth, otherwise this Maxim need not to be so much insisted on.

If what I urg'd last be but diligently look'd after, and the Imports are never allow'd to be superior to the Exports, no Nation can ever be impoverish'd by Foreign Luxury; and they may improve it as much as they please, if they can but in proportion raise the Fund of their own that is to purchase it.

Trade is the Principal, but not the only Requisite to aggrandize a Nation; there are other things to be taken Care of besides. The *Meum* and *Tuum* must be secur'd, Crimes punish'd, and all other Laws concerning the Administration of Justice, wisely contriv'd, and strictly executed. Foreign Affairs must be likewise prudently manag'd, and the Ministry of every Nation ought to have a good Intelligence Abroad, and be well acquainted with the Publick Transactions of all those Countries, that either by their Neighbourhood, Strength or Interest, may be hurtful or beneficial to them, to take the necessary Measures accordingly, of crossing some and assisting others, as Policy and the Balance of

of Power direct. The Multitude must be aw'd, no Man's Conscience forc'd, and the Clergy allow'd no greater Share in State Affairs than our Saviour has bequeathed them in his Testament. These are the Arts that lead to worldly Greatness; what Sovereign Power soever makes a good use of them, that has any considerable Nation to govern, whether it be a Monarchy, a Commonwealth, or a mixture of both, can never fail of making it flourish in spite of all the other Powers upon Earth, and no Luxury or other Vice is ever able to shake their Constitution.— But here I expect a full mouth'd Cry against me. What! has God never punish'd and destroy'd great Nations for their Sins? Yes, but not without means; by infatuating their Governors, and suffering them to depart from either all or some of those general Maxims I have mention'd; and of all the famous States and Empires the World has had to boast of hitherto, none ever came to Ruin whose Destruction was not principally owing to the bad Politicks, Neglects, or Mismanagements of the Rulers.

There is no doubt but more Health and Vigour is to be expected among a People, and their Offspring, from Temperance and Sobriety, than there is from Gluttony and Drunkenness;

Drunkennes ; yet I confess, that as to Luxury's effeminating and enervating a Nation, I have not such frightful Notions now as I have had formerly. When we hear or read of things which we are altogether Strangers to, they commonly bring to our Imagination such Ideas of what we have seen, as (according to our apprehension) must come the nearest to them : And I remember, that when I have read of the Luxury of *Persia*, *Ægypt*, and other Countries where it has been a reigning Vice, and that were effeminated and enervated by it, it has sometimes put me in mind of the cramming and swelling of ordinary Tradesmen at a City Feast, and the beastliness of their over-gorging themselves is often attended with ; at other times it has made me think on the Distraction of dissolute Sailors, as I had seen them in Company of half a dozen lewd Women roaring along with Fiddles before them ; and was I to have been carried into any of their great Cities, I would have expected to have found one third of the People Sick a Bed with Surfeits ; another laid up with the Gout, or crippled by a more ignominious Distemper, and the rest, that could not go without leading, walk along the Streets in Petticoats.

It is happy for us to have Fear for our Keeper, as long as our Reason is not strong enough

enough to govern our Appetites; and I believe that the great Dread I had more particularly against the Word, *to enervate*, and some consequent Thoughts on the Etymology of it did me abundance of good when I was a School boy: But since I have seen something of the World, the Consequences of Luxury to a Nation seem not so dreadful to me as they did. As long as Men have the same Appetites, the same Vices will remain. In all large Societies, some will love Whoring and others Drinking. The Lustful that can get no handsome clean Women, will content themselves with dirty Drabs; and those that cannot purchase true *Hermitage* or *Pontack*, will be glad of more ordinary *French* Claret. Those that can't reach Wine, take up with worse Liquors, and a Foot Soldier or a Beggar may make himself as drunk with Stale Beer or Malt-Spirits, as a Lord with *Burgundy*, *Champaign* or *Tockay* Wine. The cheapest and most slovenly way of indulging our Passions, does as much Mischief to a Man's Constitution, as the most elegant and expensive.

The greatest Excesses of Luxury are shewn in Buildings, Furniture, Equipages and Cloaths, clean Linnen weakens a Man no more than Flannel, Tapistry, fine Painting
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Or good Wainfcot are no more unwholesome than bare Walls ; and a rich Couch, or a gilt Chariot are no more enervating than the cold Floor or a Country Cart. The refin'd Pleasures of Men of Sence are seldom injurious to their Constitution, and there are many great Epicures that will refuse to eat or drink more than their Heads or Stomachs can bear. Sensual People may take as great Care of themselves as any ; and the Errors of the most viciously Luxurious, don't so much consist in the frequent Repetitious of their Lewdness, and their eating and drinking too much, (which are the things which would most enervate them) as they do in the operose Contrivances, the Profuseness and Nicety they are serv'd with, and the vast Expence they are at in their Tables and Amours.

But let us once suppose that the Ease and Pleasure the Grandees and the rich People of every great Nation live in, render them unfit to endure Hardships, and undergo the Toils of War. I'll allow that most of the Common Council of the City would make but very indifferent Foot Soldiers ; and I believe heartily, that if your Horse was to be compos'd of Aldermen, and such as most of them are, a small Artillery of Squibs would be sufficient to rout them : But what

what have the Aldermen, the Common Council, or indeed all People of any Substance to do with the War, but to pay Taxes. The Hardships and Fatigues of War that are Personally suffer'd, fall upon them that bear the Brunt of every thing, the meanest indigent Part of the Nation, the working slaving People: For how excessive soever the Plenty and Luxury of a Nation may be, some Body must do the work. Houses and Ships must be built, Merchandizes must be remov'd, and the Ground till'd. Such a variety of Labours in every great Nation requires a vast multitude, in which there are always loose, idle, extravagant Fellows enough to spare for an Army, and those that are Robust enough to Hedge and Ditch, Plow and Thrash, or else not too much enervated to be Smiths, Carpenters, Sawyers, Clothworkers, Porters or Carmen, will always be strong and hardy enough in a Campaign or two to make good Soldiers, who, where good Orders are kept, have seldom so much Plenty and Superfluity come to their Share as to do them any hurt.

The Mischief then to be fear'd from Luxury among the People of War, cannot extend itself beyond the Officers. The greatest of them are either Men of a very high

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Birth and Princely Education, or else extraordinary Parts and no less Experience, and whoever is made choice of by a wise Government to command an Army *en chef*, should have a consummate Knowledge in Martial Affairs, Intrepidity to keep him calm in the midst of danger, and many other Qualifications that must be the work of Time and Application, on Men of a quick Penetration, a distinguish'd Genius, and a world of Honour. Strong Sinews and supple Joints are trifling Advantages not regarded in Persons of their Reach and Grandeur, that can destroy Cities o'Bed, and ruin whole Countries whilst they are at Dinner. As they are most commonly Men of great Age, it would be ridiculous to expect a hail Constitution and Agility of Limbs from them: So their Heads be but Active and well furnish'd, 'tis no great Matter what the rest of their Bodies are. If they cannot bear the Fatigue of being on Horseback, they may ride in Coaches, or be carried in Litters. Men's Conduct and Sagacity are never the less for their being Cripples, and the best General the King of *France* has now can hardly crawl along. Those that are immediately under the chief Commanders must be very nigh of the same Abilities, and are generally Men that have rais'd them

themselves to those Posts by their Merit. The other Officers are all of them in their several Stations oblig'd to lay out so large a share of their Pay in fine Cloaths, Accoutrements, and other Things by the luxury of the Times call'd necessary, that they can spare but little Money for Debauches, for as they are advanced and their Salleries rais'd, so they are likewise forc'd to increase their Expences, and their Equipages, which as well as every thing else, must still be proportionable to their Quality. By which means the greatest part of them are in a manner hindred from those Excesses that might be destructive to Health, whilst their Luxury thus turn'd another way serves moreover to heighten their Pride and Vanity, the greatest Motives to make them behave themselves like what they would be thought to be. (See Remark (Q))

There is nothing refines Mankind more than Love and Honour. Those two Passions are equivalent to many Virtues, and therefore the greatest Schools of Breeding and good Manners are Courts and Armies; the one to accomplish the Women, the other to polish the Men. What the generality of Officers among civiliz'd Nations affect is a perfect Knowledge of the World and the Rules of Honour, an Air of Frankness,
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and Humanity peculiar to Military Men of Experience, and such a Mixture of Modesty and Undauntedness, as may bespeak them both Courteous and Valiant. Where good Sense is fashionable, and a genteel Behaviour is in esteem, Gluttony and Drunkenness can be no reigning Vices. What Officers of Distinction chiefly aim at, is not a Beastly, but a Splendid way of Living, and the Wishes of the most Luxurious in their several degrees of Quality, are to appear handsomely, and excel each other in Finery of Equipage, Politeness of Entertainments, and the Reputation of a judicious Fancy in every thing about them.

But if there should be more dissolute Reprobates among Officers than there are among Men of other Professions, which is not true, yet the most debauch'd of them may be very serviceable, if they have but a great share of Honour. It is this that covers and makes up for a multitude of Defects in them, and it is this that none (how abandon'd soever they are to Pleasure) dare pretend to be without. But as there is no Argument so convincing as Matter a Fact, let us look back on what so lately happen'd in our two last Wars with *France*. How many puny young Striplings have we had in our Armies tenderly Educated, nice in their Dress

Dress, and curious in their Dyet, that underwent all manner of Duties with Gallantry and Chearfulness?

Those that have such dismal Apprehensions of Luxury's enervating and effeminating People, might in *Flanders* and *Spain*, have seen embroider'd Beaux with fine lac'd Shirts and powder'd Wigs, stand as much Fire and Lead up to the Mouth of a Cannon, with as little Concern as it was possible for the most stinking Slovens to have done in their own Hair, tho' it had not been comb'd in a Month; and met with abundance of wild Rakes, who had actually impair'd their Healths, and broke their Constitutions with Excesses of Wine and Women, that yet behav'd themselves with Conduct and Bravery against their Enemies. Robustness is the least thing requir'd in an Officer, and if sometimes Strength is of use, a firm Resolution of Mind, which the hopes of Preference, Emulation, and the Love of Glory inspire them with, will at a push supply the Place of Bodily Force.

Those that understand their Business, and have a sufficient sense of Honour, as soon as they are used to Danger will always be capable Officers; and their Luxury, as long as they spend no Body's Money

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they but their own, will never be prejudicial to a Nation.

By all which I think I have proved what I design'd in this Remark on Luxury. First, that in one sense every thing may be call'd so, and in another there is no such thing. Secondly, that with a wise Administration all People may swim in as much foreign Luxury as their Product can purchase, without being impoverish'd by it; and lastly, that where Military Affairs are taken care of as they ought, and the Soldiers well paid and kept in good Discipline, a wealthy Nation may live in all the Ease and Plenty imaginable, and in many Parts of it shew as much Pump and Delicacy, as Humane Wit can invent, and at the same time be formidable to their Neighbours, and come up to the Character of the Bees in the Fable, of which I said, That

*Flatter'd in Peace and fear'd in Wars,
They were the Esteem of Foreigners,
And lavish of their Wealth and Loves,
The Ballance of all other Hives.*

(See what is further said concerning Luxury in Remark (M.)

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(M) An

(M) *And odious Pride a Million more:*

Page 9. Line 4. Pride is that Natural Faculty by which every Mortal that has any Understanding over values, and imagines better things of himself than any impartial Judge, thoroughly acquainted with all his Qualities and Circumstances could allow him. • We are possess'd of no other Quality so beneficial to Society, and so necessary to render it wealthy and flourishing as this, yet it is that which is most generally detested. What is very peculiar to this faculty of ours, is, that those who are the fullest of it are the least willing to connive at it in others; whereas the heinousness of other Vices is the most extenuated by those who are guilty of 'em themselves. The Chaste Man hates Fornication, and Drunkenness is most abhor'd by the Temperate; but none are so much offended at their Neighbour's Pride, as the proudest of all, and if any one can pardon it, it is the most humble. From which I think we may justly infer, that its being odious to all the World is a certain sign that all the World is troubled with it. This all Men of Sense are ready to confess, and no body denies but that he has Pride in general. But if you

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come 'to Particulars, you'll meet with few that will own any Action you can name of theirs to have proceeded from that Principle. There are likewise many who will allow that among the sinful Nations of the Times, Pride and Luxury are the great Promoters of Trade, but they refuse to own the necessity there is that in a more Virtuous Age, (such a one as should be free from Pride) Trade would in a great measure decay.

The Almighty, say they, has endow'd us with the Dominion over all Things which the Earth and Sea produce or contain; there is nothing to be found in either, but what was made for the use of Man; and his Skill and Industry above other Animals were given him, that he might render both them and every thing else within the reach of his Senses, more serviceable to him. Upon this Consideration they think it impious to imagine, that Humility, Temperance, and other Virtues, should debar People from the Enjoyment of those Comforts of Life, which are not denied to the most wicked Nations; and so conclude, that without Pride or Luxury, the same things might be eat, wore, and consumed, the same number of Handicrafts and Artificers employ'd and a Na-

tion be every way as flourishing as where those Vices are the most predominant.

As to wearing Apparel in particular, they'll tell you, that Pride, which sticks much nearer to us than our Cloaths, is only lodg'd in the Heart, and that Rags often conceal a greater Portion of it than the most pompous Attire; and that as it cannot be denied but that there have always been Virtuous Princes, who with humble Hearts have wore their splendid Diadems and sway'd their envied Scepters, void of Ambition for the good of others; so it is very probable, that Silver and Gold Brocades, and the richest Embroideries, may, without a thought of Pride, be wore by many whose Quality and Fortune are suitable to them. May not (say they) a good Man of extraordinary Revenues, make every Year a greater variety of Suits than it is possible he should wear out, and yet have no other Ends than to set the Poor at work to encourage Trade, and by employing many to promote the Welfare of his Country? And considering Food and Rayment to be Necessaries, and the two chief Articles to which all our worldly Cares are extended, why may not all Mankind set aside a considerable Part of his Income for the one as well as the other, without the least Tincture of Pride? Nay, is not

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not every Member of the Society in a manner obliged, according to his Ability, to contribute toward the Maintenance of that Branch of Trade, on which the whole has so great a dependance? Besides that, to appear decently is a Civility, and often a Duty, which, without any Regard to our selves, we owe to those we converse with.

These are the Objections generally made use of by haughty Moralists, who cannot endure to hear the Dignity of their Species arrain'd; but if we look narrowly into them they may soon be answer'd.

If we had no Vices, I cannot see why any Man should ever make more Suits than he has occasion for, tho' he were never so desirous of promoting the good of the Nation: For tho' in the wearing of a well wrought Silk, rather than a slight Stuff, and the preferring curious fine Cloth to course, he had no other view but the setting of more People to work, and consequently the Publick Welfare, yet he could consider Cloaths no otherwise than Lovers of their Country do Taxes now; they may pay 'em with Alacrity, but no Body gives more than his due; especially where all are justly rated according to their Abilities, as it could no otherwise be expected in a very Virtuous Age. Besides that, in such Golden Times

no body would dress above his Condition, no body pinch his Family, cheat or overreach his Neighbour to purchase Finery, and consequently there would not be half the Consumption, nor a third part of the People employed as now there are. But to make this more plain and demonstrate, that for the support of Trade there can be nothing equivalent to Pride, I shall examine the several views Men have in outward Apparel, and set forth what daily Experience may teach every Body as to Dress.

Cloaths were originally made for two Ends, to hide our Nakedness, and to fence our Bodies against the Weather, and other outward Injuries: To these our boundless Pride has added a third, which is Ornament; for what else but an excess of stupid Vanity, could have prevail'd upon our Reason to fancy that Ornamental, which must continually put us in mind of our Wants and Misery, beyond all other Animals that are ready cloathed by Nature herself? It is indeed to be admired how so sensible a Creature as Man, that pretends to so many fine Qualities of his own, should condescend to value himself upon what is robb'd from so innocent and defenceless an Animal as a Sheep, or what he is beholding for to the most insignificant thing upon Earth, a dying Worm;

Worm : yet whilst he is Proud of such trifling Depredations, he has the folly to laugh at the Hottentots on the furthest Promontory of *Africk*, who adorn themselves with the Guts of their dead Enemies, without considering that they are the Ensigns of their Valour: those Barbarians are fine with, the true *Spoilia opima*, and that if their Pride be more Savage than ours, it is certainly less ridiculous, because they wear the Spoils of the more noble Animal.

But whatever Reflections may be made on this head, the World has long since decided the Matter ; handsome Apparel is a main Point, fine Feathers make fine Birds; and People where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Gloaths and other Accoutrements they have about them ; from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth, and by their ordering of them we guess at their Understanding. It is this which encourages every body, who is conscious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able to wear Gloaths above his Rank, especially in large and Populous Cities, where obscure Men may hourly meet with fifty Strangers to one Acquaintance, and consequently have the Pleasure of being esteem'd by a vast Majority, not as what they are, but what they appear to be ; which is a

greater Temptation than most People want to be Vain.

Whoever takes delight in viewing the various Scenes of low Life, may on *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and other great Holydays, meet with scores of People, especially Women, of almost the lowest Rank, that wear good and fashionable Cloaths. If coming to talk with them, you treat them more courteously and with greater Respect than what they are conscious they deserve, they'll commonly be ashamed of owning what they are; and often you may, if you are a little Inquisitive, discover in them a most anxious Care to conceal the Business they follow, and the Places they live in. The Reason is plain; whilst they receive those Civilities that are not usually paid them, and which they think only due to their Betters, they have the Satisfaction to imagine, that they appear what they would be, which to weak Minds is a Pleasure almost as substantial as they could reap from the very Accomplishments of their Wishes: This Golden Dream they are unwilling to be disturbed in, and being sure that the meanness of their Condition, if it is known, must sink 'em very low in your Opinion, they hug themselves in their disguise, and take all imaginable Precaution
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not to forfeit by a useless discovery the Esteem which they flatter themselves that their good Cloaths have drawn from you.

Tho' every body allows, that as to Apparel and manner of living, we ought to behave our selves suitable to our Conditions, and follow the Examples of the most sensible and prudent among our Equals in Rank and Fortune : Yet how few, that are not either miserably Covetous, or else Proud of singularity, have this Discretion to boast of? We all look above our selves, and, as fast as we can, strive to imitate those, that some way or other are superior to us.

The poorest Labourer's Wife in the Parish, who scorns to wear a strong wholesome Frize, as she might, will half starve herself and her Husband to purchase a second hand Gown and Petticoat, that cannot do half the Service, because, forsooth, it is more genteel. The Weaver, the Shoemaker, the Taylor, the Barber, and every mean working Fellow, that can set up with little, has the Impudence with the first Money he gets, to Dress himself like a Tradesman of Substance. The ordinary Retailer in the cloathing of his Wife, takes Pattern from his Neighbour, that deals in the same Commodity by Wholesale, and the Reason he gives for it, is, that Twelve Years ago the other

had not a bigger Shop than himself. The Druggist, Mercer, Draper and other creditable Shopkeepers can find no difference between themselves and Merchants, and therefore dress and live like them. The Merchant's Lady, who cannot bear the Assurance of those Mechanicks, flies for refuge to the other End of the Town, and scorns to follow any Fashion but what she takes from thence. This haughtiness alarms the Court, the Women of Quality are frighten'd to see Merchants Wives and Daughters dress'd like themselves; this Impudence of the City, they cry is intollerable; Mantua-makers are sent for, and the contrivance of Fashions becomes all their Study, that they may have always new Modes ready to take up, as soon as those sawcy Cits shall begin to imitate those in being. The same Emulation is continued through the several degrees of Quality to an incredible Expence, till at last the Prince's great Favourites and those of the first Rank of all, having nothing else left to outstrip some of their Inferiors, are forc'd to lay out vast Estates in pompous Equipages, magnificent Furniture, sumptuous Gardens and princely Palaces.

To this Emulation and continual striving to outdo one another it is owing that after so many various Shiftings and Chagings of Modes,

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Modes, in trumping up new ones and renewing of old ones, there is still a *plus ultra* left for the Ingenious; it is this, or at least the Consequence of it, that sets the Poor to Work, adds Spurs to Industry, and encourages the skilful Artificer to search after further Improvements.

It may be objected, that many People of good Fashion, who have been us'd to be well Dress'd, out of Custom wear rich Cloaths with all the indifferency imaginable, and that the benefit to Trade accruing from them cannot be ascrib'd to Emulation or Pride. To this I answer, that it is impossible, that those who trouble their Heads so little with their Dress, could ever have wore those rich Cloaths, if both the Stuffs and Fashions had not been first invented to gratify the Vanity of others, who took greater delight in fine Apparel; than they. Besides that every Body is not without Pride that appears to be so, all the symptoms of that Vice are not easily discover'd; they are manifold and vary according to the Age, Humour, Circumstances, and often Constitution, of the People.

The cholerick City Captain seems impatient to come to Action, and expressing his Warlike Genius by the firmness of his Steps, makes his Pike, for want of Enemies, tremble.

ble at the Valour of his Arm. His Martial Finery, as he Marches along, inspires him with an unusual Elevation of Mind, by which endeavouring to forget his Shop as well as himself, he looks up at the Balconies with the fierceness of a *Sarazen* Conqueror. Whilst the phlegmatick Alderman, now become venerable both for his Age and his Authority, contents himself with being thought a considerable Man; and knowing no easier way to express his Vanity, looks big in his Coach, where being known by his paultry Livery, he receives, in sullen State, the Homage that is paid him by the meaner sort of People.

The beardless Ensign counterfeits a Gravity above his Years, and with a ridiculous Assurance strives to imitate the stern Countenance of his Collonel, flattering himself all the while, that by his daring Mien you'll judge of his Prowess. The youth ul Fair, in a vast concern of being overlook'd, by the continual changing of her Posture betrays a violent desire of being observ'd, and catching, as it were at every Body's Eyes, Courts, with obliging Looks, the admiration of her Beholders. The conceited Coxcomb, on the contrary, displaying an Air of Sufficiency, is wholly taken up with the Contemplation of his own Perfections, and in Publick Places discovers such a disregard to others, that the
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These and such like are all manifest tho' different Tokens of Pride, that are obvious to all the World, but Man's Vanity is not always so soon found out. When we perceive an Air of Humanity, and Men seem not to be employ'd in admiring themselves, nor altogether unmindful of others, we are apt to pronounce 'em void of Pride, when perhaps they are only fatigu'd with gratifying their Vanity, and become languid from a satiety of Enjoyments. That outward shew of Peace within, and drowsy composure of careless Negligence, with which a Great Man is often seen in his plain Chariot to loll at ease, are not always so free from Art, as they may seem to be. *Nothing is more ravishing to the Proud than to be thought happy.*

The well bred Gentleman places his greatest Pride in the Skill he has of covering it with Dexterity, and some are so expert in concealing this Frailty, that when they are the most guilty of it, the Vulgar think them the most exempt from it. Thus the dissembling Courtier, when he appears in State, assumes an Air of Modesty and good Humour, and whilst he is ready to burst with Vanity, seems to be wholly ignorant of his Greatness,

ness, well knowing, that those lovely Qualities must heighten him in the Esteem of others, and be an addition to that Grandeur, which the Coronets about his Coach and Harnesses, with the rest of his Equipage, cannot fail to proclaim without his Assistance.

And as in these, Pride is overlook'd, because industriously conceal'd, so in others again it is denied that they have any, when they shew (or at least seem to shew) it in the most Publick manner. The wealthy Parson, being as well as the rest of his Profession, debar'd from the Gaiety of Laymen, makes it his business to look out for an admirable Black and the finest Cloath that Money can purchase, and distinguishes himself by the fulness of his noble and spotless Garment; his Wigs are as fashionable as that Form he is forc'd to comply with will admit off; but as he is only stinted in their shape, so he takes care that for goodness of Hair and Colour, few Noblemen shall be able to match'em, his Body is ever clean, as well as his Cloaths, his slick Face is kept constantly shav'd, and his handsome Nails are diligently pared, his smooth white Hand and a Brilliant of the first Water, mutually becoming, honour each other with double graces; what Linnen he discovers is transparently

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parently curious, and he scorns ever to be seen abroad with a worse Beaver than what a rich Banker would be proud of on his Wedding Day ; to all these niceties in Dress he adds a Majestick Gate, and expresses a commanding loftiness in his Carriage ; yet common Civility, notwithstanding the evidence of so many concurring Symptoms, won't allow us to suspect any of his Actions to be the result of Pride ; considering the Dignity of his Office, it is only Decency in him what would be Vanity in others ; and in good Manners to his Calling we ought to believe, that the worthy Gentleman, without any regard to his reverend Person, puts himself to all this trouble and expence merely out of a respect which is due to the Divine Order he belongs to, and a Religious Zeal to preserve his Holy Function from the Contempt of Scoffers. With all my Heart ; nothing of all this shall be call'd Pride, let me only be allow'd to say, that to our Human Capacities it looks very like it.

But if at last I should grant, that there are Men who enjoy all the Fineries of Equipage and Furniture, as well as Cloaths, and yet have no Pride in them, it is certain, that if all should be such that Emulation I spoke of before must cease, and consequently Trade, which has so great a dependance upon it,

it, suffer in every branch. For to say, that if all Men were truly Vertuous, they might, without any regard to themselves, consume as much out of Zeal to serve their Neighbours and promote the Publick Good, as they do now out of Self love and Emulation, is a miserable shift and an unreasonable supposition. As there have been good People in all Ages, so, without doubt, we are not destitute of them in this; but let us enquire of the Perriwig-makers and Taylors, in what Gentlemen, even of the greatest Wealth and highest Quality, they ever could discover such publick spirited Views. Ask the Lacemen, the Mercers and the Linnen drapers, whether the richest, and if you will, the most vertuous Ladies, if they buy with ready Money, or intend to pay in any reasonable time, will not drive from Shop to Shop to try the Market, make as many Words, and stand as hard with them to save a Groat or Six-Pence in a Yard, as the most necessitous Jilts in Town. If it be urg'd, that if there are not, it is possible there might be such People, I answer, that it is as possible that Cats, instead of killing Rats and Mice, should feed them, and go about the House to suckle and nurse their young ones, or that a Kite should call the Hens to their Meat, as the Cock does, and sit brooding over

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over their Chickens instead of devouring 'em; but if they should all do so, they would cease to be Cats and Kites; it is inconsistent with their Natures, and the Species of Creatures which now we mean, when we name Cats and Kites, would be extinct as soon as that could come to pass.

(N.) *Real Pleasures, Comforts, Ease,*

Page 9. Line 2. That the highest Good consisted in Pleasure, was the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, who yet lead a Life Exemplary for Continnence, Sobriety and other Vertues, which made People of the succeeding Ages quarrel about the signification of Pleasure. Those who argued from the Temperance of the Philosopher, said, that the Delight *Epicurus* meant, was being Virtuous; so *Erasmus* in his Colloquies tells us, that there are no greater *Epicures* than pious Christians. Others that reflected on the dissolute Manners of the greatest part of his Followers, would have it, that by Pleasures he could have understood nothing but sensual Ones, and the Gratification of our Passions. I shall not decide their Quarrel, but am of Opinion, that whether Men be good or bad, what they take delight in is their Pleasure, and not to look out for any further Etymology

logy from the learned Languages, I believe an *Englishman* may justly call every thing a Pleasure that pleases him, and according to this Definition we ought to dispute no more about Men's Pleasures than their Tastes: *Trahit sua quemque Voluptas,*

The worldly minded, voluptuous and ambitious Man, notwithstanding he is void of Merit, covets Precedence every where, and desires to be dignify'd above his Betters: He aims at spacious Palaces and delicious Gardens; his chief Delight is in excelling others in stately Horses, magnificent Coaches, a numerous Attendance, and dear bought Furniture. To gratify his Lust, he wishes for genteel, young, beautiful Women of different Charms and Complexions that shall adore his Greatness, and be really in love with his Person: His Cellars he would have stored with the Flower of every Country that produces excellent Wines: His Table he desires may be serv'd with many Courses, and each of them contain a choice variety of Dainties not easily purchas'd, and ample evidences of elaborate and judicious Cookery; whilst harmonious Musick and well couch'd Flattery entertain his Hearing by turns. He employs, even in the meanest Trifles, none but the ablest and most ingenious Workmen, that his Judgment and Fancy
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may as evidently appear in the least things that belong to him, as his Wealth and Quality are manifested in those of greater Value. He desires to have several Sets of witty, facetious and polite People to converse with, and among them he would have some famous for Learning and universal Knowledge: For his serious Affairs, he wishes to find Men of Parts and Experience that should be diligent and faithful. Those that are to wait on him he would have handy, mannerly and discreet, of comely Aspect and a graceful Mein: What he requires in them besides, is a respectful Care of every thing that is *His*, Nimbleness without Hurry, Dispatch without Noise, and an unlimited Obedience to his Orders: Nothing he thinks more troublesome than speaking to Servants; wherefore he will only be attended by such, as by observing his Looks have learn'd to interpret his Will from his slightest Motions. He loves to see an elegant Nicety in every thing that approaches him, and in what is to be employ'd about his Person he desire a superlative Cleanliness to be religiously observ'd. The chief Officers of Household he would have to be Men of his Birth, Honour and Distinction, as well as Order, Contrivance and Oeconomy; for tho he loves to be honour'd by every Body,

dy, and receives the Respects of the Common People with Joy, yet the Homage that is paid him by Persons of Quality is ravishing to him in a more transcendent manner.

Whilst thus wallowing in a Sea of Lust and Vanity, he is wholly employ'd in provoking and indulging his Appetites, he desires the World should think him altogether free from Pride and Sensuality, and put a favourable Construction upon his most glaring Vices: Nay, if his Authority can purchase it, he covets to be thought Wise, Brave, Generous, Good-natur'd, and endu'd with all the Virtues he thinks worth having. He would have us believe that the Pomp and Luxury he is serv'd with are as many tiresome Plagues to him; and all the Grandeur he appears in is an ungrateful Burden, which, to his Sorrow, is inseperable from the high Sphere he moves in, that his noble Mind, so much exalted above vulgar Capacities, aims at higher ends, and can not relish such worthless Enjoyments; that the highest of his Ambition is to promote the Publick Welfare, and his greatest Pleasure to see his Country flourish, and every Body in it made happy. These are call'd real Pleasures by the Vicious, and Earthly minded, and whoever is able, either by his Skill

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Skill or Fortune after this refin'd manner at once to enjoy the World, and the good Opinion of it, is counted extremely happy by all the most fashionable part of the People.

But on the other side most of the ancient Philosophers and grave Moralists, especially the Stoicks, would not allow any thing to be a real Good that was liable to be taken from them by others. They wisely consider'd the Instability of Fortune and the Favour of Princes, the Vanity of Honour and Popular Applause ; the Precariousness of Riches and all Earthly Possessions, and therefore placed true Happiness in the calm Serenity of a contented Mind free from Guilt and Ambition ; a Mind, that, having subdued every sensual Appetite, despises the Smiles as well as Frowns of Fortune, and taking no delight but in Contemplation, desires nothing but what every Body is able to give to himself: A Mind, that arm'd with Fortitude and Resolution has learn'd to sustain the greatest Losses without Concern, to endure Pain without Affliction, and to bear Injuries without Resentment. Many have own'd themselves arriv'd to this height of Self-denial, and then, if we may believe them, they were rais'd above Common Mortals, and their Strength extended vastly beyond
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the pitch of their first Nature: They could behold the Anger of Threatning Tyrants and the most imminent Dangers without Terror, and preserv'd their Tranquility in the midst of Torments: Death itself they could meet with Intrepidity and left the World with no greater Reluctancy than they had shew'd Fondness at their entrance into it.

These among the Ancients have always bore the greatest Sway; yet others that were no Fools neither, have exploded those Precepts as impracticable, call'd their Notions Romantick, and endeavour'd to prove, that what these Stoicks asserted of themselves exceeded all human Force and Possibility, and that therefore the Virtues they boasted of could be nothing but haughty Pretences full of Arrogance and Hypocrisy; yet notwithstanding these Censures, the Serious part of the World, and the generality of wise Men that have liv'd ever since to this Day agree with the Stoicks in the most material Points; as that there can be no true Felicity in what depends on things perishable; that Peace within is the greatest Blessing, and no Conquest as that of our Passions, that Knowledge, Temperance, Fortitude, Humility, and other Embellishments of the Mind are the most valuable Acquisitions;

tions ; that no Man can be happy but he that is good ; and that the Virtuous are only capable of enjoying *real Pleasures*.

I expect to be ask'd why in the Fable I have call'd those Pleasures real that are directly opposite to those which I own the wise Men of all Ages have extoll'd as the most valuable. My Answer is, because I don't call things Pleasure which Men say are best, but such as they seem to be most pleased with ; how can I believe that a Man's chief delight is in the Embellishments of the Mind, when I see him never employ'd about and daily pursue the Pleasures that are contrary them ! *John* never cuts any Pudding, but just enough that you can't say he took none ; this little Bit, after much chomping and chewing you see goes down with him like chop'd Hay, after that he falls upon the Beef with voracious Appetite, and crams himself up to his Throat. Is it not provoking to hear *John* cry every Day that Pudding is all his delight, and that he don't value the Beef of a Farthing ?

I could swagger about Fortitude and the Contempt of Riches as much as *Seneca* himself, and would undertake to write twice as much in behalf of Poverty as ever he did, for the tenth part of his Estate. I could teach the way to his *Summum Bonum* as exactly

actly as I know my way home : I could tell People, that to extricate themselves from all worldly Engagements, and to purify the Mind, they must divest themselves of their Passions, as Men take out the Furniture when they would clean a Room thoroughly, and I am clearly of the Opinion, that the Malice and most severe Strokes of Fortune can do no more injury to a Mind thus stript of all Fears, Wishes and Inclinations, than a blind Horse can do in an empty Barn. In the Theory of all this I am very perfect, but the Practice is very difficult; and if you went about picking my Pocket, offer'd to take the Victuals from before me when I am hungry, or made but the least motion of spitting in my Face, I dare not promise how Philosophically I should behave myself. But that I am forced to submit to every caprice of my unruly Nature, you'll say is no Argument that others are as little Masters of theirs, and therefore I am willing to pay Adoration to Virtue wherever I can meet with it, with a Proviso, that I shall not be oblig'd to admit any as such where I can see no Self-denial, or to judge of Mens Sentiments from their Words, where I have their Lives before me.

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I have search'd through every Degree and Station of Men, and confess, that I have found no where more Austerity of Manners, or greater Contempt of Earthly Pleasures, than in some Religious Houses, where People freely resigning and retiring from the World to combat themselves, have no other Business but to subdue their Appetites. What can be a greater Evidence of perfect Chastity, and a superlative Love to immaculate Purity in Men and Women, than that in the Prime of their Age, when Lust is most raging, they should actually seclude themselves from each others Company, and by a voluntary Renunciation debar themselves for Life, not only from Uncleaness, but even the most lawful Embraces? Those that abstain from Flesh, and often all manner of Food, one would think in the right way to conquer all Carnal Desires; and I could almost swear, that he don't consult his Ease, who daily mauls his bare Back and Shoulders with unconscionable Stripes, and constantly roused at Midnight from his Sleep, leaves his Bed for his Devotion. Who can despise Riches more, or shew himself less Avaricious than he, who won't so much as touch Gold or Silver, no not with his Feet? Or can any Mortal shew himself less Luxurious or more humble than the Man,

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that making Poverty his choice, contents himself with Scraps and Fragments, and refuses to eat any Bread but what is bestow'd upon him by the Charity of others!

Such fair Instances of Self-denial would make me bow down to Virtue, if I was not deter'd and warn'd from it by so many Persons of Eminence and Learning, who unanimously tell me that I am mistaken, and all I have seen is Farce and Hypocrisy; that what Seraphick Love they may pretend to, there is nothing but Discord among them, and that how Penitential the Nuns and Fryars may appear in their several Convents, they none of them sacrifice their darling Lusts. That among the Women they are not all Virgins that pass for such, and that if I was to be let into their Secrets, and examine some of their Subterraneous Privacies, I should be soon convinced by Scenes of Horror, that some of them must have been Mothers. That among the Men, I should find Calumny, Envy and Ill Nature in the highest degree, or else Gluttony, Drunkenness, and Impurities of a more execrable kind, than Adultery itself: And as for the Mendicant Orders, that they differ in nothing but their Habits from other sturdy Beggars, who deceive People with a pitiful Tone and an outward shew of Misery, and
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as soon as they are out of sight, lay by their Cant, indulge their Appetites, and enjoy one another.

If the strict Rules, and so many outward signs of Devotion observ'd among those religious Orders, deserve such harsh Censures, we may well despair of meeting with Virtue any where else; for if we look into the Actions of the Antagonists, and greater Accusers of those Votaries, we shall not find so much as the appearance of self denial. The Reverend Divines of all Sects, even of the most Reform'd Churches in all Countries, take care with the *Cyclops Evangelophorus* first; *ut ventri bene sit*, and afterwards, *ne quid desit iis quæ sub ventre sunt*: To these they'll desire you to add, convenient Houses, handsome Furniture, good Fires in Winter, pleasant Gardens in Summer, near Cloaths, and Money enough to bring up their Children: Precedency in all Companies, Respect from every body, and then as much Religion as you please. The things I have named are necessary Comforts of Life, which the most Modest are not ashamed to claim, and which they are very uneasy without. They are, 'tis true, made of the same Mould, and have the same corrupt Nature with other Men, born with the same Infirmities, subject to the same Pas-

sions, and liable to the same Temptations, and therefore if they are diligent in their Calling, and can but abstain from Murder, Adultery, Swearing, Drunkenness, and other heinous Vices, their Lives are call'd unblemish'd, and their Reputations unspotted; their Function renders them holy, the Gratification of so many Carnal Appetites, and the Enjoyment of so much luxurious Ease notwithstanding, they may set upon themselves what value their Pride and Parts will allow them.

All this I have nothing against, but I see no Self denial, without which there can be no Virtue. Is it such a Mortification not to desire a greater Share of worldly Blessings than what every reasonable Man ought to be satisfy'd with? Or is there any mighty Merit in not being flagitious, and forbearing Indecencies that are repugnant to good Manners, and which no prudent Man would be guilty of, tho' he had no Religion at all?

I know I shall be told, that the reason why the Clergy are so violent in their Resentments, when at any time they are but in the least affronted, and shew themselves so void of all Patience when their Rights are invaded, is their great care to preserve their Calling, their Profession from Contempt,
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not for their own sakes, but to be more serviceable to others. 'Tis the same reason that makes them solicitous about the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life; for should they suffer themselves to be insulted over, be content with a courser Diet, and wear more ordinary Cloaths than other People, the Multitude, who judge from outward Appearances, would be apt to think that the Clergy was no more the immediate Care of Providence than other Folks, and so not only undervalue their Persons but despise likewise all the Reproofs and Instructions that came from 'em. This is an admirable Plea, and as it is much made use of I'll try the worth of it.

I am not of the Learned Dr. *Eachard's* Opinion, that Poverty is one of those things that bring the Clergy into Contempt, any further than as it may be an occasion of discovering their blind-side: For when Men are always struggling with their low Condition, and are unable to bear the Burden of it without Reluctancy, it is then they shew how uneasy their Poverty sits upon them, how glad they would be to have their Circumstances meliorated, and what a real value they have for the good things of this World. He that harangues on the Contempt of Riches, and the Vanity of Earthly

Enjoyments, in a rusty threadbare Gown, because he has no other, and would wear his old greasy Hat no longer, if any body would give him a better ; that drinks Small-beer at Home with a heavy Countenance, but leaps at a Glass of Wine if he can catch it Abroad ; that with little Appetite feeds on his own course Mese, but falls too greedily where he can please his Palate, and expresses an uncommon Joy at an Invitation to a splendid Dinner : 'Tis he that is despised, not because he is Poor, but because he knows not how to be so with that Content and Resignation which he preaches to others, and so discovers his Inclinations to be contrary to his Doctrine, But when a Man from the greatness of his Soul (or an obstinate Vanity, which does as well) resolving to subdue his Appetites in good earnest, refuses all the offers of Ease and Luxury that can be made to him, and embracing a voluntary Poverty with chearfulness, rejects whatever may gratify the Senses, and actually sacrifices all his Passions to his Pride in acting this Part, the Vulgar far from contemning will be ready to Deify and adore him. How famous have the *Cynick* Philosophers made themselves, only by refusing to dissimulate and make use of Superfluities? Did not the most Ambitious Monarch the
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World ever bore, condescend to visit *Dio- genes* in his Tub, and return to a study'd Incivility, the highest Compliment a Man of his Pride was able to make?

Mankind are very willing to take one anothers Word when they see some Circumstances that corrobbrate what is told them; but when our Actions directly contradict what we say, it is counted Impudence to desire Belief. If a jolly hail Fellow with glowing Cheecks and warm Hands, newly return'd from some smart Exercise, or else the Cold Bath, tells us in frosty Weather, that he cares not for the Fire, we are easily induced to believe him, especially if he actually turns from it, and we know by his Circumstances that he wants neither Fuel nor Cloaths: But if we should hear the same from the Mouth of a poor starv'd Wretch, with swell'd Hands, and a livid Countenance, in a thin ragged Garment, we should not believe a Word of what he said, especially if we saw him shaking and shivering, creep toward the Sunny Bank, and we would conclude, let him say what he could, that warm Cloaths and a good Fire would be very acceptable to him. The Application is easy, and therefore if there be any Clergy upon Earth that would be thought not to care for the World, and to

value the Soul above the Body, let them only forbear shewing a greater concern for their Sensual Pleasures than they generally do for their Spiritual ones, and they may rest satisfy'd, that no Poverty, whilst they bear it with Fortitude, will ever bring them into Contempt, how mean soever their Circumstances may be.

Let us suppose a Pastor that has a little Flock entrusted to him, of which he is very careful: He preaches, visits, exhorts, reproves among his People with Zeal and Prudence, and does them all the kind Offices that lie in his Power to make them happy. There is no doubt but those under his care must be very much oblig'd to him. Now we'll suppose once more, that this good Man by the help of a little Self denial, is contented to live upon half his Income, accepting only of Twenty Pounds a Year instead of Forty, which he could claim; and moreover, that he loves his Parishoners so well, that he will never leave them for any Preferment whatever, no not a Bishoprick, tho' it be offer'd. I can't see but all this might be an easy task to a Man who professes Mortification, and has no value for worldly Pleasures; yet such a disinterested Divine I dare promise, notwithstanding the great degeneracy of Mankind, will be lov'd, esteem'd, and have every

every body's good Word; nay I would swear, that tho' he should yet farther exert himself, give above half of his small Revenue to the Poor, live upon nothing but Oatmeal and Water, lie upon Straw, and wear the coursest Cloth that could be made, his mean way of Living would never be reflected on, or be a Disparagement either to himself or the Order he belong'd to; but that on the contrary his Poverty would never be mention'd but to his Glory, as long as his Memory should last.

But (says a charitable young Gentlewoman) tho' you have the Heart to starve your Parson, have you no Bowels of Compassion for his Wife and Children? Pray what must remain of Forty Pounds a Year after it has been twice so unmercifully split? Or would you have the Poor Woman and the innocent Babes likewise live upon Oatmeal and Water, and lie upon Straw, you unconscionable Wretch, with all your Suppositions and Self denials? Nay, is it possible, tho' they should all live at your own murdering rate, that less than Ten Pounds a Year could maintain a Family? — Don't be in a Passion good Mrs. *Abigail*, I have a greater regard for your Sex than to prescribe such a lean Diet to married Men; but I confess I forgot the Wives and Children: The main reason

was, because I thought poor Priests could have no occasion for them; who could imagine that the Parson who is to teach others by Example as well as Precept, was not able to withstand those Desires which the wicked World itself calls unreasonable? What is the reason when a 'Prentice marries before he is out of his Time, that unless he meets with a good Fortune, all his Relations are angry with him, and every body blames him? Nothing else but because at that time he has no Money at his disposal - and being bound to his Master's Service, has no leisure and perhaps little Capacity to provide for a Family. What must we say to a Parson that has Twenty, or if you will Forty Pounds a Year, that being bound more strictly to all the Services a Parish and his Duty require, has little time and generally much less Ability to get any more? Is it not very unreasonable he should Marry? But why should a sober young Man, who is guilty of no Vice, be debarred from lawful Enjoyments? Right; Marriage is lawful, and so is a Coach; but what is that to People that have not Money enough to keep one: If he must have a Wife, let him look out for one with Money, or wait for a greater Benefice, or something else to maintain her handsomely, and bear all incident Charges.

Charges. But no body that has any thing herself will have him, and he can't stay: He has a very good Stomach, and a great share of Health, 'tis not every body that can live without a Woman; 'tis better to Marry than burn. — What a World of Self denial is here? The sober young Man is very willing to be Virtuous, but you must not cross his Inclinations; he promises never to be a Deer-stealer, upon Condition that he shall have Venison of his own, and no body must doubt but that if it came to the Push, he is qualify'd to suffer a Martyrdom, tho' he owns that he can't bear a scratch'd Finger.

When we see so many of the Clergy, to indulge their Lust, a brutish Appetite, run themselves after this manner upon an inevitable Poverty, which unless they could bear it with greater Fortitude than they discover in all their Actions, must of necessity make them contemptible to all the World, what Credit must be given them, when they pretend that they conform themselves to the World, not because they take delight in the several Decencies, Conveniencies, and Ornaments of it, but only to preserve their Function from Contempt, (in order to be more useful to others? Have we not reason to believe, that what they say is full of Hypocrisy

pocrisy and Falshood, and that concupiscence is not the only Appetite they want to gratify; that the haughty Airs and quick Sense of Injuries, the curious Elegance in Dress, and niceness of Palate, to be observ'd in most of them that are able to shew them, are the Results of Pride and Luxury in them as they are in other People, and that the Clergy are not possess'd of more Intrinsick virtue than any other Profession?

I am afraid that by this time I have given many of my Readers a real displeasure, by dwelling so long upon the reality of Pleasure; but I can't help it, there is one thing comes into my Head to corroborate what I have urg'd already, which I can't forbear mentioning: It is this: Those who govern others throughout the World, are at least as wise as the People that are govern'd by them, generally speaking: If for this reason we could take Pattern from our Superiors, we have but to cast our Eyes on all the Courts and Governments in the Universe, and we shall soon perceive from the Actions of the Great ones, which Opinion they side with, and what Pleasures those in the highest Stations of all seem to be most fond of: For if it be allowable at all to judge of People's Inclinations from their manner of Living, none can be less injur'd
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by it than those who are the most at Liberty to do as they please.

If the great ones of the Clergy as well as the Laity of any Country whatever, had no value for Earthly Pleasures, and did not endeavour to gratify their Appetites, why are Envy and Revenge so raging among them, and all the other Passions improv'd and refin'd upon in Courts of Princes more than any where else, and why are their Repasts, their Recreations, and whole manner of Living always such as are approv'd of, coveted, and imitated by the most sensual People of that same Country? If despising all visible Decorations they were only in Love with the Embellishments of the Mind, why should they borrow so many of the Implements, and make use of the most darling Toys of the Luxurious? Why should a Lord Treasurer, or a Bishop, or even the Grand Signior or the Pope of *Rome*, to be good and Virtuous, and endeavour the Conquest of his Passions, have occasion for greater Revenues, richer Furniture, or a more numerous Attendance, as to Personal Service, than a Private Man? What Virtue is it the Exercise of which requires so much Pomp and Superfluity, as are to be seen by all Men in Power? A Man has as much opportunity to practise Temperance, that has but one

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Dish at a Meal, as he that is constantly serv'd with three Courses and a dozen Dishes in each: One may exercise as much Patience, and be as full of Self denial on a few Flocks, without Courtains or Tester, as in a Velvet Bed that is Sixteen Foot high. The Virtuous Possessions of the Mind are neither Charge nor Burden: A Man may bear Misfortunes with Fortitude in a Garret, forgive Injuries on foot, and be Chaste, tho' he has not a Shirt to his Back; and therefore I shall never believe, but that an indifferent Skuller, if he was intrusted with it, might carry all the Learning and Religion that one Man can contain, as well as a Barge with six Oars, especially if it was but to cross from *Lambeth* to *Westminster*; or that Humility is so ponderous a Virtue, that it requires six Horses to draw it.

To say, that Men not being so easily govern'd by their Equals as by their Superiors, it is necessary that to keep the multitude in awe, those who rule over us should excel others in outward Appearance, and consequently that all in high Stations should have Badges of Honour, and Ensigns of Power to be distinguish'd from the Vulgar, is a frivolous Objection. This in the first Place can only be of use to poor Princes, and weak and precarious Governments, that being actu-

actually unable to maintain the publick Peace, are obliged with a Pageant Shew to make up what they want in real Power: So the Governor of *Batavia* in the *East-Indies* is forced to keep up a Grandeur, and live in Magnificence above his Quality to strike a Terror in the Natives of *Java*, who, if they had Skill and Conduct, are strong enough to destroy ten times the number of their Masters; but great Princes and States that keep large Fleets at Sea and numerous Armies in the Field, have no occasion for such Stratagems; for what makes them formidable Abroad, will never fail to be their Security at Home. Secondly, what must protect the Lives and Wealth of People from the Attempts of wicked Men in all Societies, is the Severity of the Laws, and diligent Administration of impartial Justice. Theft, House-breaking and Murther are not to be prevented by the Scarlet Gown of the Aldermen, the Gold Chains of the Sheriffs, the fine Trappings of their Horses, or any gawdy Shew whatever: Men of abandon'd Principles must be aw'd by rugged Officers, strong Prisons, watchful Jaylers, the Hangman and the Gallows. If *London* was to be one Week destitute of Constables and Watchmen to guard the Houses a Nights, half the Bankers would be ruin'd in that time, and if

if my Lord Mayor had nothing to defend himself but his great two handed Sword, the huge Cap of Maintenance, and his gilded Mace, he would soon be strip'd in the very Streets of the City of all his finery in his stately Coach.

But let us grant that the Eyes of the Mobility are to be dazled with a gawdy outside; if Virtue was the chief delight of great Men, why should their Extravagance be extended to Things not understood by the Mob, and wholly removed from publick View, I mean their private Diversions, the Pomp and Luxury of the Dining Room and the Bed-Chamber, and the Curiosities of the Closet? Few of the Vulgar know that there is Wine of a Guinea the Bottle; that Birds no bigger than Larks are often sold for half a Guinea apiece, or that a single Picture may be worth several thousand Pounds: Besides, is it to be imagin'd, that unless it was to please themselves Men should put themselves to such vast Expences for a Political Shew, and be so solicitous to gain the Esteem of those whom they so much despise in every thing else. If we allow that the Splendor and all the Elegancy of a Court are insipid, and only tiresome to the Prince himself, and are altogether made use of to preserve Royal Majesty from Contempt. Can we

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we say the same of half a dozen illegitimate Children, most of them the Offspring of Adultery by the same Majesty, got, educated and made Princes at the Expence of the Nation? Therefore it is evident, that this awing of the Multitude by a distinguish'd manner of living, is only a Cloak and Pretence, under which great Men would shelter their Vanity, and indulge every Appetite about them without Reproach.

A Burgomaster of *Amsterdam* in his plain, black Suit, follow'd perhaps by one Footman, is fully as much respected and better obey'd than a Lord Mayor of *London* with all his splendid Equipage and great Train of Attendance. Where there is a real Power it is ridiculous to think that any Temperance or Austerity of Life should ever render the Person in whom that Power is lodg'd contemptible in his Office, from an Emperor to the Beadle of a Parish. *Cato* in his Government of *Spain*, in which he acquitted himself with so much Glory, had only three Servants to attend him; do we hear that any of his Orders were ever slighted for this, notwithstanding that he lov'd his Bottle? And when that great Man march'd on Foot thro' the scorching Sands of *Lybia*, and parch'd up with Thirst, refus'd to touch the Water that was brought him, before all his Soldiers

Soldiers had drank, do we ever read that this Heroick Forbearance weakned his Authority, or lessen'd him in the Esteem of his Army? But what need we go so far off: There has not these many Ages been a Prince less inclin'd to Pomp and Luxury than the present King of Sweden, who enamour'd with the Title of *Hero*, has not only sacrific'd the Lives of his Subjects, and Welfare of his Dominions, but (what is more uncommon in Sovereigns) his own Ease, and all the Comforts of Life, to an implacible Spirit of Revenge; yet he is obdurate to the Ruin of his People, in obstinately maintaining a War that has almost utterly destroy'd his Kingdom.

Thus I have prov'd, that the Real Pleasures of all Men in Nature are worldly and sensual, if we judge from their Practice. I say, all Men in Nature, because Devout Christians, who alone are to be excepted here, being regenerated, and preternaturally assisted by the Divine Grace, cannot be said to be in Nature. How strange it is, that they should all so unanimously deny it! Ask not only the Divines and Moralists of every Nation, but likewise all that are rich and powerful, about real Pleasure, and they'll tell you, with the *Stoicks*, that there can be no true Felicity in Things Mundane and Cor-

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ruptible; but then look upon their Lives, and you will find they take delight in no other.

What must we do in this Dilemma? Shall we be so uncharitable, as judging from Men's Actions to say, That all the World prevaricates, and that this is not their Opinion, let them talk what they will? Or shall we be so silly, as relying on what they say, to think them sincere in their Sentiments, and so not believe our own Eyes? Or shall we rather endeavour to believe our selves and them too, and say with *Montaigne*, that they imagine and are fully persuaded, that they believe what yet they do not believe? These are his Words; *Some impose on the World, and would be to believe what they really don't; but much the greater number impose upon themselves, not considering nor thoroughly apprehending what it is to believe.* But this is making all Mankind either Fools or Impostors, which to avoid, there is nothing left us, than to say what *Mr. Bayle* has endeavour'd to prove at large in his *Reflections on Comets*; That Man is so unaccountable a Creature as to act most commonly against his Principle; and this is so far from being injurious, that it is a Compliment to Human Nature, for we must say either this or worse.

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This Contradiction in the Frame of Man is the Reason that the Theory of Viriue is so well understood, and the Practice of it so rarely to be met with. If you ask me where to look for those beautiful shining Qualities of Prime Ministers, and the great Favourites of Princes that are so finely painted in Dedications, Addresses, Epitaphs, Funeral Sermons and Inscriptions, I answer *There*, and no where else. Where would you look for the Excellency of a Statue, but in that part which you see of it? 'Tis the Polish'd outside only that has the Skill and Labour of the Sculptor to boast of; what's out of sight is untouch'd. Would you break the Head, or cut open the Breast to look for the Brains or the Heart, you'd only shew your Ignorance and destroy the Workmanship. This has often made me compare the Virtues of great Men to your large *China* Jars; they make a fine Shew, and are Ornamental even to a Chimney; one would by the Bulk they appear in, and the Value that is set upon them, think they might be very useful, but look into a thousand of them, and you'll find nothing in them but Dust and Cobwebs.

(O) ~~—————~~ *The very Poor*
Liv'd better than the Rich before.

Page 10. Line 1. If we trace the most flourishing Nations in their Origin, we shall find that in the remote Beginnings of every Society, the richest and most considerable Men among them were a great while destitute of a great many Comforts of Life that are now enjoy'd by the meanest and most humble Wretches: So that many things, which were once look'd upon as the invention of Luxury, are now allow'd even to those that are so miserably poor as to become the Objects of publick Charity, nay counted so necessary, that we think no Human Creature ought to want them.

In the first Ages Man, without doubt, fed on the Fruits of the Earth, without any previous Preparation, and reposed himself naked like other Animals on the Lap of their common Parent: Whatever has contributed since to make Life more Comfortable, as it must have been the Result of Thought, Experience, and some Labour, so it more or less deserves the Name of Luxury, the more or less trouble it required and deviated from the primitive Simplicity. Our Admiration is extended no farther than what is new

new to us, and we all overlook the Excellency of Things we are used to, be they never so curious. A Man would be laugh'd at, that should discover Luxury in the plain Dress of a poor Creature that walks along in a thick Parish Gown and a coarse Shirt underneath it; and yet what a number of People, how many different Trades, and what a variety of Skill and Tools must be employ'd to have the most ordinary *Yorkshire* Cloth? What depth of Thought and Ingenuity, what Toil and Labour, and what length of Time must it have cost, before Man could learn from a Seed to raise and prepare so useful a Product as Linnen?

Must that Society not be vainly curious, among whom this admirable Commodity, after it is made, shall not be thought to be used even by the poorest of all, before it is brought to a perfect whiteness, which is not to be procur'd but by the assistance of all the Elements joyn'd to a world of Industry and Patience? I have not done yet; Can we reflect not only on the Cost laid out upon this Luxurious Invention, but likewise on the little time the Whiteness of it continues, in which part of its Beauty consists, that every six or seven Days at farthest it wants cleaning, and whilst it lasts is a continual Charge to the wearer; can we, I
say,

ly, reflect on all this, and not think it an extravagant Piece of Nicety, that even those who receive Alms of the Parish, should not only have whole Garments made of this opulose Manufacture, but likewise that as soon as they are soil'd, to restore them to their pristine Purity, they should make use of one of the most Judicious as well as difficult Compositions that Chymistry can boast of; with which dissolv'd in Water by the help of Fire, the most deterfive, and yet innocent *Lixivium* is prepar'd that Human Industry has hitherto been able to invent?

It is certain, Time was that the Things I speak of would have bore those lofty Expressions, and in which every Body would have reason'd after the same manner; but the Age we live in would call a Man Fool who should talk of Extravagance and Nicety, if he saw a poor Woman, after having wore her Crown Cloath Smock a whole Week, wash it with a bit of stinking Soap of a Groat a Pound.

The Arts of Brewing and making Bread, have by slow degrees been brought to the Perfection they are now in, but to have invented them at once, and *a priori* would have required more Knowledge and a deeper Insight into the Nature of Fermentation, than

than the greatest Philosopher has hitherto been endow'd with ; yet the Fruits of both are now enjoy'd by the meanest of our Species, and a starving Wretch knows not how to make a more humble, or a more modest Petition than by asking for a Bit of Bread or a Draught of Small Beer.

Man has learn'd by Experience, that nothing was softer than the small Plumes and Down of Birds, and found that heap'd together they would by their Elasticity gently resist any incumbent Weight, and heave up again of themselves as soon as the Pressure is over. To make use of them to sleep upon was, no doubt, first invented to Compliment the Vanity as well as Ease of the Wealthy and Potent, but they are long since become so common, that almost every Body lies upon Featherbeds, and to substitute Flocks in the room of them, is counted a miserable shift of the most Necessitous. What a vast height must Luxury have been arriv'd to before it cou'd be reckon'd a Hardship to repose upon the soft Wool of Animals !

From Caves, Huts, Hovels, Tents and Barracks, with which Mankind took up at first, we are come to warm and well wrought Houses, and the meanest Habitations to be seen in Cities, are regular Buildings contriv'd by Persons skill'd in Proportions

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portions and Architecture. If the ancient Britons and Gauls should come out of their Graves, with what Amazement wou'd they gaze on the mighty Structures every where rais'd for the Poor! Should they behold the Magnificence of a *Chelsea College*, a *Greenwich Hospital*, or what surpasses all them, a *Des Invalides* at *Paris*, and see the Care, the Plenty, the Superfluities and Pomp which People that have no Possessions at all are treated with in thole stately Palaces, those who were once the greatest and richest of the Land would have Reason to envy the most reduced of our Species now.

Another piece of Luxury the Poor enjoy, that is not look'd upon as such, and which there is no doubt but the Wealthiest in a Golden Age would abstain from, is their making use of the Flesh of Animals to eat. In what concerns the Fashions and Manners of the Ages Men live in they never examine into the real Worth or Merit of the Cause, and generally judge of Things not as their Reason, but Custom directs them. Time was when the Funeral Rites in the disposing of the Dead were perform'd by Fire, and the Cadavers of the greatest Emperors were burnt to Ashes. Then burying the Corpse in the Ground was a Punishment

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for the worst of Malefactors. Now nothing is decent or honourable but interring, and burning the Body is reserv'd for Crimes of the blackest dye. At some times we look upon Trifles with Horror, at other times we can behold Enormities without Concern. If we see a Man walk with his Hat on in a Church, though out of Service time it shocks us, but if on a Sunday Night we meet half a dozen Fellows Drunk in the Street, the Sight makes little or no Impression upon us. If a Woman at a Merry-making dresses in Man's Cloaths, it is reckon'd a Frolick among Friends, and he that finds too much Fault with it is counted censorious: Upon the Stage is it done without Reproach, and the most Vertuous Ladies will dispense with it in an Actress, tho' every Body has a full view of her Legs and Thighs; but if the same Woman, as soon as she has Petticoats on again, should show her Leg to a Man as high as her Knee, it would be a very immodest Action, and every Body will call her impudent for it.

I have often thought, if it was not for this Tyranny which Custom usurps over us, that Men of any tollerable good Nature could never be reconcil'd to the killing of so many Animals for their daily Food, as long as the bountiful Earth so plentifully provides
them

them with varieties of vegetable Dainties. I know that Reason excites our Compassion but faintly, and therefore I would not wonder how Men should so little commiserate such imperfect Creatures as Cray fish, Oysters, Cockles, and indeed all Fish in general: As they are mute, and their inward Formation, as well as outward Figure, vastly different from ours, they express themselves unintelligibly to us, and therefore 'tis not strange that their Grief should not affect our Understanding, which it cannot reach; for nothing stirs us to Pity so effectually, as when the Symptoms of Misery strike immediately upon our Senses, and I have seen People mov'd at the Noise a live Lobster makes upon the Spit, that could have kill'd half a dozen Fowls with Pleasure. But in such perfect Animals as Sheep and Oxen, in whom the Heart, the Brain and Nerves differ so little from ours, and in whom the Separation of the Spirits from the Blood, the Organs of Sense, and consequently Feeling itself, are the same as they are in Human Creatures. I can't imagine how a Man not hardned in Blood and Massacre, is able to see a violent Death, and the Pangs of it, without Concern.

In answer to this, most People will think it sufficient to say, that all Things being allow'd to be made for the Service of Man, there can be no Cruelty in putting Creatures to the use they were design'd for; but I have heard Men make this Reply, whilst their Nature within them has reproach'd them with the Falshood of the Assertion. There is of all the Multitude not one Man in ten but what will own, (if he was not brought up in a Slaughter-house) that of all Trades he could never have been a *Butcher*; and I question whether ever any body so much as kill'd a Chicken without Reluctancy the first time. Some People are not to be persuaded to taste of any Creatures they have daily seen and been acquainted with, whilst they were alive; others extend their scruple no further than to their own Poultry, and refuse to eat what they fed and took care of themselves, yet all of them will feed heartily and without Remorse on Beef, Mutton and Fowls, when they are bought in the Market. In this behaviour, methinks, there appears something like a consciousness of Guilt; it looks as if they endeavour'd to save themselves from the Imputation of a Crime (which they know sticks somewhere) by removing the cause of it as far as they can from themselves; and I can discover
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in it some strong remains of Primitive Pity and Innocence, which all the arbitrary Power of Custom, and the violence of Luxury, have not yet been able to conquer.

What I build upon I shall be told is a Folly that Wise Men are not guilty of: I own it; but whilst it proceeds from a real Passion inherent in our Nature, it is sufficient to demonstrate that we are born with a Repugnancy to the killing, and consequently the eating of Animals; for it is impossible that a natural Appetite should ever prompt us to act, or desire others to do, what we have an aversion to, be it as foolish as it will.

Every body knows, that Surgeons in the Cure of dangerous Wounds and Fractures, the extirpation of Limbs, and other dreadful Operations, are often compell'd to put their Patients to extraordinary Torments, and that the more desperate and calamitous Cases occur to them, the more the outcries and bodily Sufferings of others must become familiar to them; for this Reason our *English* Law, out of a most affectionate Regard to the Lives of the Subject, allows them not to be of any Jury upon Life and Death, as supposing that their Practice it self is sufficient to harden and extinguish in them that Tendernefs, without which no

Man is capable of setting a true value upon the Lives of his fellow Creatures. Now if we ought to have no Concern for what we do to Brute Beasts, and there was not imagin'd to be any cruelty in killing them, why should of all Callings *Butchers*, and only they jointly with *Surgeons*, be excluded from being Jury-men by the same Law?

I shall urge nothing of what *Pythagoras* and many other Wise Men have said concerning this Barbarity of eating Flesh, I have gone too much out of my way already, and shall therefore beg the Reader, if he would have any more of this, to run over the following Fable, or else, if he be tired, to let it alone, with an assurance that in doing of either he shall equally oblige me.

A *Roman Merchant* in one of the *Carthaginian Wars* was cast away upon the Coast of *Africk*: Himself and his Slave with great difficulty got safe ashore; but going in quest of Relief, were met by a *Lion* of a mighty size. It happen'd to be one of the Breed that ranged in *Aesop's Days*, and one that could not only speak several Languages, but seem'd moreover very well acquainted with Human Affairs. The Slave got upon a Tree, but his Master not thinking himself safe there, and having heard much of the generosity of *Lyons*, fell down prostrate before him,

him, with all the signs of Fear and Submission. The Lyon, who had lately fill'd his Belly, bids him rise and for a while lay by his Fears, assuring him withal, that he should not be touch'd, if he could give him any tollerable Reasons why he should not be devour'd. The Merchant obey'd, and having now receiv'd some glimmering hopes of safety, gave a dismal account of the Shipwrack he had suffer'd, and endeavouring from thence to raise the Lyon's Pity pleaded his Cause with abundance of good Rhethorick; but observing by his countenance that Flattery and fine Words made very little Impression, he betook himself to Arguments of greater Solidity, and reasoning from the excellency of Man's Nature and Abilities, remonstrated how improbable it was that the Gods should not have design'd him for a better use than to be eat by Savage Beasts. Upon this the Lyon became more attentive, and vouchsafed now and then a reply, till at last the following Dialogue ensued between them.

Oh Vain and Covetous Animal, (*said the Lyon*) whose Pride and Avarice can make him leave his Native Soil, where his natural Wants might be plentifully supply'd, and try rough Seas and dangerous Mountains to find out Superfluities, why should you e-

steem your Species above ours? And if the Gods have given you a Superiority over all Creatures, then why beg you of an Inferior? *Our Superiority* (answer'd the Merchant) *consists not in bodily force but strength of Understanding; the Gods have endued us with a Rational Soul, which, tho' invisible, is much the better part of us.* I desire to touch nothing of you but what is good to eat, but why do you value your self so much upon that part which is invisible? *Because it is Immortal, and shall meet with Rewards after Death for the Actions of this Life, and the Just shall enjoy eternal Bliss and Tranquility with the Heroes and Demi Gods in the Elysian Fields.* What Life have you led? *I have honoured the Gods, and study'd to be beneficial to Man.* Then why do you fear Death, if you think the Gods as just as you have been? *I have a Wife and five small Children that must come to want if they lose me.* I have two Whelps that are not big enough to shift for themselves, that are in want now, and must actually be starv'd if I can provide nothing for them: Your Children will be provided for one way or other, at least as well when I have eat you as if you had been drown'd.

As to the Excellency of either Species, the value of things among you has ever increas'd with the scarcity of them, and to a
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Million of Men there is hardly one Lyon;
besides that, in the great Veneration Man
pretends to have for his kind, there is little
Sincerity farther than it concerns the share
which every ones Pride has in it for him-
self, 'tis a folly to boast of the Tenderneſs
ſhewn and Attendance given to your young
ones, or the exceſſive and laſting trouble
beſtow'd in the Education of them: Man
being born the moſt neceſſitous and moſt
helpleſs Animal, this is only an inſtinct of
Nature, which in all Creatures has ever
proportion'd the care of the Parents to the
Wants and Imbecilities of the Off ſpring.
But if Man had a real value for his kind,
how is it poſſible that often Ten Thouſand
of them, and ſometimes Ten times as many
ſhould be deſtroy'd in few hours for the Ca-
price of two. All degrees of Men deſpiſe
thoſe that are inferior to them, and if you
could enter into the Hearts of Kings and
Princes, you would hardly find any but what
have leſs value for the greateſt part of the
Multitudes they rule over, than thoſe have
for the Cattle that belongs to them. Why
ſhould ſo many pretend to derive their Race,
tho' but ſpuriously, from the immortal Gods;
why ſhould all of them ſuffer others to kneel
down before them, and more or leſs take de-
light in having Divine Honours pay'd them,

but to insinuate that themselves are of a more exalted Nature, and a Species superior to that of their Subjects?

Savage I am, but no Creature can be call'd cruel but what either by Malice or Insensibility extinguishes his natural Pity: The Lyon was born without Compassion; we follow the instinct of our Nature; the Gods have appointed us to live upon the waste and spoil of other Animals, and as long as we can meet with dead ones, we never hunt after the Living. 'Tis only Man, mischievous Man, that can make Death a Sport, Nature taught your Stomach to crave nothing but Vegetables; but your violent fondness to change, and greater eagerness after Novelties, have prompted you to the Destruction of Animals without Justice or necessity, perverted your Nature and warp'd your Appetites which way soever your Pride or Luxury have call'd them. The Lyon has a ferment within him that consumes the roughest Skin and hardest Bones as well as the Flesh of all Animals without exception: Your squeamish Stomach, in which the Digestive heat is weak and inconsiderable, won't so much as admit of the most tender Parts of them, unless above half the Concoction has been perform'd by artificial Fire before hand; and yet what Animal have
you

you spared to satisfy the Caprices of a languid Appetite? Languid I say; for what is Man's Hunger if compar'd to the Lyon's: Yours, when it is at the worse, makes you Faint, mine makes me Mad: Oft have I tried with Roots and Herbs to allay the violence of it, but in vain; nothing but large quantities of Flesh can any ways appease it.

Yet the fierceness of our Hunger, notwithstanding Lyons have often requited Benefits received; but ungrateful and perfidious Man feeds on the Sheep that Cloaths him, and spares not her innocent young ones, whom he has taken into his care and custody. If you tell me the Gods made Man Master over all other Creatures, what Tyranny was it then to destroy them out of wantonness? No, fickle timorous Animal, the Gods have made you for Society, and design'd that Millions of you, when well joyn'd together, should compose the strong *Leviathan*. A single Lyon bears some sway in the Creation, but what is single Man? A small and inconsiderable part, a trifling Atom of one great Beast. What Nature designs she executes, and 'tis not safe to judge of what she purpos'd, but from the effects she shews: If she had intended that Man, as Man from a superiority of Species, should lord it over all other

Other Animals, the Tiger, nay the Whale and Eagle, would have obey'd his Voice.

But if your Wit and Understanding exceeds ours, ought not the Lyon in deference to that Superiority to follow the Maxims of Men, with whom nothing is more sacred than that the Reason of the strongest is ever the most prevalent. Whole Multitudes of you have conspired and compass'd the Destruction of one, after they had own'd the Gods had made him their Superior, and one has often ruin'd and cut off whole Multitudes, whom by the same Gods he had sworn to defend and maintain. Man never acknowledg'd Superiority without Power, and why should I? The Excellence I boast of is visible, all Animals tremble at the sight of the Lyon, not out of Panick Fear. The Gods have given me Swiftneſs to overtake, and Strength to conquer what ever comes near me. Where is there a Creature that has Teeth and Claws like mine; behold the thickness of these massy Jaw bones; consider the width of them, and feel the firmness of this brawny Neck. The nimbleſt Deer, the wildest Boar, the stoutest Horse, and strongest Bull are my Prey wherever I meet them. Thus spoke the Lyon, and the Merchant fainted away.

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The Lyon, in my Opinion, has stretch'd the Point too far; yet when to soften the Flesh of Male-Animals, we have by Castration prevented the firmness their Tendons and every Fibre would have come to without it, I confess I think it ought to move a human Creature when he reflects upon the cruel care with which they are fated for Destruction. When a large and gentle Bullock, after having resisted a ten times greater force of Blows than would have kill'd his Murderer, falls stun'd at last, and his arm'd Head is fasten'd to the Ground with Cords; what Mortal can, as soon as the wide Wound is made, and the Jugulars are cut asunder, without Compassion hear the painful Bellowings intercepted by his Blood, the bitter Sighs that speak the sharpness of his Anguish, and the deep sounding Groans with loud anxiety fetch'd from the bottom of his strong and palpitating Heart? Look on the trembling and violent Convulsions of his Limbs; see, whilst his reeking Gore streams from him, his Eyes become dim and languid, and behold his Struglings, Gasps and last efforts for Life, the certain Signs of his approaching Fate? When a Creature has given such convincing and undeniable Proofs of the Terrors upon him, and the Pains and Agonies he feels, is there a follower of
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Descartes so inur'd to Blood, as not to refuse, by his Commiseration, the Philosophy of that vain Reasoner?

(P) ——— For frugally
They now liv'd on their Sallary.

Page 14 Line 12: When People have small comings in, and are honest withal, it is then that the generality of them begin to be frugal, and not before. Frugality in *Ethicks* is call'd that Virtue from the Principle of which Men abstain from Superfluities, and despising the operose contrivances of Art to procure either Ease or Pleasure, content themselves with the natural Simplicity of Things, and are carefully Temperate in the Enjoyment of them without any Tincture of Covetousness. Frugality thus limited, is perhaps scarcer than many may imagine; but what is generally understood by it is a Quality more often to be met with, and consists in a *Medium* between Profuseness and Avarice, rather leaning to the latter. As this prudent Oeconomy, which some People call *Saving*, is in Private Families the most certain Method to encrease an Estate. So some imagine, that whether a Country be barren or fruitful, the same Method, if generally pursued (which they think

think practicable) will have the same effect upon a whole Nation. and that, for Example, the *English* might be much richer than they are, if they would be as frugal as some of their Neighbours. This, I think, is an Error, which to prove I shall first refer the Reader to what has been said upon this head in Remark (L) and then go on thus.

Experience teaches us first, that as People differ in their Views and Perceptions of Things, so they vary in their Inclinations; one Man is given to Covetousness, another to Prodigality, and a third is only *Saving*. Secondly, that Men are never, or at least very seldom, reclaimed from their darling Passions, either by Reason or Precept, and that if any thing ever draws 'em from what they are naturally propense to, it must be a change in their Circumstances or their Fortunes. If we reflect upon these Observations, we shall find that to render the generality of a Nation lavish, the Product of the Country must be considerable in proportion to the Inhabitants, and what they are profuse of cheap; that on the contrary, to make a Nation generally frugal, the Necessaries of Life must be scarce, and consequently dear; and that therefore let the best Politician do what he can, the Profuseness or Frugality of a People in general, must

must always depend upon, and will in spight of his Teeth, be ever proportion'd to the Fruitfulness and Product of the Country, the number of Inhabitants, and the Taxes they are to bear. If any body would refute what I have said, let them only prove from History, that there ever was in any Country a National Frugality without a National Necessity.

Let us examine then what things are requisite to aggrandize and enrich a Nation: The first desirable Blessings for any Society of Men is a fertile Soil and a happy Climate, a mild Government, and more Land than People. These Things will render Man easy, loving, honest and sincere. In this Condition they may be as Virtuous as they can, without the least injury to the Publick, and consequently as happy as they please themselves. But they shall have no Arts or Sciences, or be quiet longer than their Neighbours will let them; they must be poor, ignorant, and almost wholly destitute of what we call the Comforts of Life, and all the Cardinal Virtues together won't so much as procure a tolerable Coat or a Porridge Pot among 'em: For in this State of slothful Ease and stupid Innocence, as you need not fear great Vices, so you must not expect any considerable Virtues. Man never

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ver exerts himself but when he is rous'd by his Desires: Whilst they lie dormant, and there is nothing to raise them, his Excellence and Abilities will be for ever undiscover'd, and the lumpish Machine, without the Influence of his Passions, may be justly compar'd to a huge Wind mill without a breath of Air.

Would you render a Society of Men strong and powerful, you must touch their Passions. Divide the Land, tho' there be never so much to spare, and their Possessions will make them Covetous: Rouse them, tho' but in Jest. from their Idleness with Praises, and Pride will set them to work in earnest: Teach them Trades and Handicrafts, and you'll bring Envy and Emulation among them: To encrease their Numbers, set up a variety of Manufactures, and leave no Ground uncultivated: Let Property be inviolably secured, and Priviledges equal to all Men: Suffer no body to act but what is lawful, and every body to think what he pleases; for a Country where every body may be maintained that will be employ'd, and the other Maxims are observ'd, must always be throng'd and can never want People, as long as there is any in the World. Would you have them Bold and Warlike, turn to Military Discipline, make good use of

of their Fear, and flatter their Vanity with Art and Affluity: But would you more over render them an opulent, knowing and polite Nation, teach 'em Commerce with Foreign Countries, and if possible get into the Sea, which to compass spare no Labour nor Industry, and let no difficulty deter you from it: Then promote Navigation, cherish the Merchant, and encourage Trade in every Branch of it; this will bring Riches, and where they are, Arts and Sciences will soon follow, and by the help of what I have named and good Management, it is that Politicians can make a People potent, renown'd and flourishing.

But would you have a frugal and honest Society, the best Policy is to preserve Men in their Native Simplicity, strive not to increase their Numbers; let them never be acquainted with Strangers or Superfluities, but remove and keep from them every thing that might raise their Desires, or improve their Understanding.

Great Wealth and Foreign Treasure will ever scorn to come among Men, unless you'll admit their inseparable Companions, Avarice and Luxury. Where Trade is considerable Fraud will intrude. To be at once well-bred and sincere, is no less than a Contradiction; and therefore whilst Man advances in

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Knowledge, and his Manners are polish'd, we must expect to see at the same time his Desires enlarg'd, his Appetites refin'd, and his Vices encreas'd.

The *Dutch* may ascribe this present Grandeur to the Virtue and Frugality of their Ancestors as they please; but what made that contemptible spot of Ground so considerable among the principal Powers of *Europe*, has been their Political Wisdom in postponing every thing to Merchandize and Navigation; the unlimited Liberty of Conscience that is enjoy'd among them, and the unwearied Application with which they have always made use of the most effectual means to encourage and increase Trade in general.

They never were noted for Frugality before *Philip II.* of *Spain* began to rage over them with that unheard of Tyranny. Their Laws were trampled upon, their Rights and large Immunities taken from them, and their Constitution torn to pieces. Several of their Chief Nobles were condemn'd and executed without legal Form of Process. Complaints and Remonstrances were punish'd as severely as Resistance, and those that escaped being massacred, were plunder'd by ravenous Soldiers. As this was intollerable to a People that had always been used

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to the mildest of Governments, and enjoy'd greater Privileges than any of the Neighbouring Nations, so they chose rather to dye in Arms than perish by cruel Executioners. If we consider the Strength *Spain* had then, and the low Circumstances those Distress'd States were in, there never was heard of a more unequal Strife; yet such was their Fortitude and Resolution, that only seven of those Provinces uniting themselves together, maintain'd against the greatest and best disciplin'd Nation in *Europe*, the most tedious and bloody War, that is to be met with in ancient or modern History.

Rather than to become a Victim to *Spanish* Fury, they were contented to live upon a third part of their Revenues, and lay out far the greatest part of their Income in defending themselves against their merciless Enemies. These Hardships and Calamities of a War within their Bowels, first put them upon that extraordinary Frugality, and the Continuance under the same difficulties for above Fourscore Years, could not but render it Customary and Habitual to them. But all their Arts of Saving, and Penurious way of Living, could never have enabled them to make head against so Potent any Enemy, if their Industry in promoting their Fishery and Navigation in general, had

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had not help'd to supply the Natural Wants
and Disadvantages they labour'd under.

The Country is so small and so populous,
that there is not Land enough, (though
hardly an Inch of it is unimprov'd) to
feed the Tenth part of the Inhabitants.
Holland it self is full of large Rivers, and
lies lower than the Sea, which would run
over it every Tide, and wash it away in
one Winter, if it was not kept out by vast
Banks and huge Walls: The Repairs of
those, as well as their Sluices, Keys, Mills,
and other Necessaries they are forc'd to make
use of to keep themselves from being drown'd
are a greater Expence to them one Year
with another, than could be rais'd by a
general Land Tax of Four Shillings in the
Pound, if to be deducted from the neat
Produce of the Landlord's Revenue.

Is it wonder that People under such
Circumstances, and loaden with greater
Taxes besides than any other Nation,
should be oblig'd to be saving? But
why must they be a Pattern to others who
besides that they are more happily situated,
are much richer within themselves, and
have, to the same number of People, above
ten times the Extent of Ground. The
Dutch and we often buy and sell at the
same Markets, and so far our Views may
be

be said to be same: Otherwise the Interests and Political Reason of the two Nations as to the private Oeconomy of either, are very different. It is their Interest to be Frugal and spend little; because they must have every thing from Abroad, except Butter, Cheese and Fish, and therefore of them, especially the latter, they consume three times the quantity, which the same number of People do here. It is our Interest to eat plenty of Beef and Mutton to maintain the Farmer, and keep up the Price of Land, of which we have enough to feed ourselves, and as many more, if it was better cultivated: The *Dutch* perhaps have more Shipping, and more ready Money than we but then they are only to be considered as the Tools they work with. So a Carrier may have more Horses than a Man of ten times his worth, and a Banker that has not above fifteen or sixteen Hundred Pounds in the World may have generally more ready Cash by him than a Gentleman of two Thousand a Year. He that keeps three or four Stage Coaches to get his Bread, is to a Gentleman that keeps a Coach for his Pleasure, what the *Dutch* are in comparison to us; having nothing of their own but Fish, they are Carriers and Freighters to the rest of the World

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whilst the Basis of our Trade chiefly depends upon our own Product.

Another Instance, that what makes the Bulk of the People saving, are heavy Taxes, scarcity of Land, and such Things that occasion a Dearth of Provisions, may be given from what is observable among the *Dutch* themselves. In the Province of *Holland* there is a vast Trade, and an unconceiveable Treasure of Money. The Land is almost as rich as Dung itself, and (as I have said once already) not an Inch of it unimprov'd. In *Gelderland* and *Overyssel* there's hardly any Trade, and very little Money: The Soil is very indifferent, and abundance of Ground lies waste. Then what is the Reason that the same *Dutch* in the two latter Provinces, tho' Poorer than the first, are yet less stingy and more hospitable? Nothing but that their Taxes in most Things are less Extravagant, and in proportion to the Number of People, they have a great deal more Ground. What they save in *Holland*, they save out of their Bellies; 'tis Eatables, Drinkables and Fewel that their heaviest Taxes are upon, but they wear better Cloaths, and have richer Furniture, than you'll find in the other Provinces.

Those

Those that are frugal by Principle, are so in every Thing, but in *Holland* the People are only sparing in such Things as are daily wanted, and soon consumed; in what is lasting they are quite otherwise: In Pictures and Marble they are Profuse; in their Buildings and Gardens they are extravagant to Folly. In other Countries you may meet with stately Courts and Palaces of great Extent that belong to Princes; which no Body can expect in a Commonwealth, where so much equality is observ'd as there is in this; but in all *Europe* you shall find no private Buildings so sumptuously Magnificent, as a great many of the Merchant's and other Gentlemen's Houses are in *Amsterdam*, and some other great Cities of that small Province; and the generality of those that build there, lay out a greater part of their Estates on the Houses they dwell in than any People upon the Earth.

The Nation I speak of was never in greater streights, nor their Affairs in a more dismal Posture ever since they were a Republick than in the Year 1671. and the beginning of 1672. What we know of their Oeconomy and Constitution with any certainty has been chiefly owing to Sir *William Temple*, whose Observations upon their Manners and Govern-

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Government, is evident from several Passages in his Memoirs were made about that time. The *Dutch* indeed were then very frugal ; but since those Days, and that their Calamities have not been so pressing, (tho' the Common People, on whom the principal Burden lies of all Excises and Impositions, are perhaps much as they were) a great Alteration has been made among the better sort of People in their Equipages, Entertainments, and whole manner of Living.

Those who would have it that the Frugality of that Nation flows not so much from Necessity, as a general Aversion to Vice and Luxury, will put us in mind of their publick Administration and Smallness of Sallaries, their Prudence in bargaining for and buying Stores and other Necessaries, the great Care they take not to be imposed upon by those that serve them, and their severity against them that break their Contracts. But what they would ascribe to the Virtue and Honesty of Ministers, is wholly due to their strict Regulations, concerning the management of the publick Treasure, from which their admirable Form of Government will not suffer them to depart ; and indeed one good Man may take anothers Word, if they so agree, but a whole Nation

I

tion ought never to trust to any Honesty; but what is built upon Necessity; for unhappy is the People, and their Constitution will be ever precarious, whose Welfare must depend upon the Virtues and Consciences of Ministers and Politicians.

The *Dutch* generally endeavour to promote as much Frugality among their Subjects as 'tis possible, not because it is a Virtue, but because it is, generally speaking, their Interest, as I have shew'd before; for as this latter changes, so they alter their Maxims, as will be plain in the following Instance.

As soon as their *East India* Ships come home, the Company pays off the Men, and many of them receive the greatest part of what they have been earning in seven or eight, and some fifteen or sixteen Years time. These poor Fellows are encourag'd to spend their Money with all Profuseness imaginable, and considering that most of them, when they set out at first were Reprobates, that under the Tutition of a strict Discipline, and a miserable Dyet, have been so long kept at hard Labour, without Money, in the midst of Danger, it cannot be difficult to make them Lavish as soon as they have Plenty.

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They squander away in Wine, Women and Musick, as much as People of their Taste and Education are well capable of, and are suffer'd, (so they but abstain from doing of Mischief) to revel and riot with greater Licentiousness than is Customary to be allow'd to others. You may in some Cities see them accompanied with three or four Lewd Women, few of them Sober, run roaring through the Streets by broad Day-light with a Fidler before them: And if the Money, to their thinking, goes not fast enough these ways, they'll find out others, and sometimes fling it among the Mob by handfuls. This Madness continues in most of them whilst they have any thing left, which never lasts long, and for this reason, by a Nick name, they are call'd, *Lords of six Weeks*, that being generally the time by which the Company has other Ships ready to depart; where these infatuated Wretches (their Money being gone) are forc'd to enter themselves again, and may have leisure to repent their Folly.

In this Stratagem there is a double Policy: First, if these Saylor's that have been inured to the hot Climates and unwholsome Air and Dyet, should be frugal and stay in their own Country, the Company would be continually oblig'd to employ fresh Men, of

which (besides that they are not so fit for their Business) hardly one in two ever lives in some Places of the *East Indies*, which would often prove a great Charge as well as Disappointment to them. The second is, that the large Sums so often distributed among those Saylor, are by this means made immediately to circulate throughout the Country, from whence, by heavy Excises and other Impositions, the greatest part of it is soon drawn back into the publick Treasure.

To convince the Champions for National Frugality by another Argument, that what they urge is impracticable, we'll suppose that I am mistaken in every thing, which in *Remark (L)* I have said in behalf of Luxury and the Necessity of it to maintain Trade; after that let us examine what a general Frugality, if it was by Art and Management to be forc'd upon People, whether they have occasion for it or not, would produce in a Nation as ours. We'll grant then that all the People in *Great Britain* shall consume but four Fifts of what they do now, and so lay up one Fifth part of their Income: I shall not speak of what Influence this would have upon almost every Trade, as well as the Farmer, the Grazier and the Landlord, but favourably suppose that (which

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(which is yet impossible) the same Work shall be done, and consequently the same Handicrafts be employ'd as there are now. The Consequence would be, that unless Money should all at once fall prodigiously in Value, and every thing else, contrary to Reason, grow very dear, at the five Years end all the working People, and the poorest of Labourers, (for I won't meddle with any of the rest) should be worth in ready Cash as much as they now spend in a whole Year; which, by the by, would be more Money than ever the Nation had at once.

Let us now, overjoy'd with this encrease of Wealth, take a view of the Condition the working People would be in, and reasoning from Experience, and what we daily observe of them, judge what their Behaviour would be in such a Case. Every body knows that there is a vast number of Journey-men Weavers, Taylors, Clothworkers, and twenty other Handicrafts; who, if by four Days Labour in a Week they can maintain themselves, will hardly be perswaded to work the fifth, and that there are Thousands of Labouring Men of all sorts who will, tho they can hardly sublift, put themselves to fifty Inconveniencies, disoblige their Masters, pinch their Bellies, and run in Debt;

to make Holidays. When Men shew such an extraordinary proclivity to Idleness and Pleasure, what reason have we to think that they would ever work, unless they were oblig'd to it by immediate Necessity? When we see an Artificer that cannot be drove to his Work before *Tuesday*, because the *Monday* Morning he has two Shillings left of his last Week's Pay; why should we imagine he would go to it at all, if he had fifteen or twenty Pounds in his Pocket.

What would, at this rate, become of our Manufactures? If the Merchant would send Cloth Abroad, he must make it himself, for the Clothier cannot get one Man out of twelve that used to work for him. If what I speak of was only to befall the Journey-men Shoemakers, and no body else, in less than a Twelvemonth half of us would go barefoot. The chief and most pressing use there is for Money in a Nation, is to pay the Labour of the Poor, and when there is a real Scarcity of it, those who have a great many Workmen to pay, will always feel it first; yet notwithstanding this great necessity of Coin, it would be easier, where Property was well secured, to live without Money than without Poor; for who would do the Work? For this reason the quantity of circulating Coin in a Country

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ought always to be proportion'd to the number of Hands that are employ'd; and the Wages of Labourers to the price of Provisions.

All Men, as *Sir William Temple* observes very well, are more prone to Ease and Pleasure, than they are to Labour, when they are not prompted by Pride or Avarice, and those that get their Living by their daily Labour, are seldom influenc'd by either: So that they have nothing to stir them up to be serviceable but their Wants, which it is Prudence to relieve, but Folly to cure. The only thing then that can render Man industrious, is a moderate quantity of Money; for as too little will, according as his Temper is, either dispirit or make him Desperate, so too much will make him Insolent and Lazy.

A Man would be laugh'd at by most People, who should maintain that too much Money could undo a Nation: Yet this has been the Fate of *Spain*; to this the learned *Don Diego Sæveda* ascribes the Ruin of his Country. The Fruits of the Earth in former Ages had made *Spain* so rich, that King *Lewis XI*, of *France* being come to the Court of *Toledo*, was astonished at its Splendour, and said, that he had never seen any thing to be compar'd to it, either in *Europe* or

Asia; he that in his Travels to the *Holy Land* had run through every Province of them. In the Kingdom of *Castille* alone, (if we may believe some Writers) were for the *Holy War* from all Parts of the World got together one hundred Thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse and sixty thousand Carriages for Baggage, which *Alonso III.* maintain'd at his own Charge, and paid every Day as well Soldiers as Officers and Princes, every one according to his Rank and Dignity: Nay, down to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, (who equip'd *Columbus*) and some time after, *Spain* was a fertile Country, where Trade and Manufactures flourish'd and had a knowing industrious People to boast of. But as soon as that mighty Treasure, that was obtain'd with more Hazard and Cruelty than the World till then had known, and which to come at, by the *Spaniard's* own Confession, had cost the Lives of twenty Millions of *Indians*; as soon, I say, as that Ocean of Treasure came rowling in upon them, it took away their Senses, and their Industry forsook them. The Farmer left his Plough, the Mechanick his Tools, the Merchant his Compting-house, and every body scorning to work, took his Pleasure and turn'd Gentleman. They thought they had reason
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to value themselves above all their Neighbours, and now nothing but the Conquest of the World would serve them.

The Consequence of this has been, that other Nations have supply'd what their own Sloth and Pride deny'd them; and when every body saw, that notwithstanding all the Prohibitions the Government could make against the Exportation of Bullion, the *Spaniard* would part with his Money, and bring it you aboard himself at the hazard of his Neck, all the World endeavour'd to work for *Spain*. Gold and Silver being by this means yearly divided and shared among all the Trading Countries, have made all Things dear, and most Nations of *Europe* Industrious, except their Owners, who ever since their mighty Acquisitions, sit with their Arms across, and wait every Year with impatience and anxiety, the arrival of their Revenues from Abroad, to pay others for what they have spent already: And thus by too much Money, the making of Colonies and other Mismanagements, of which it was the occasion *Spain* is from a fruitful and well peopled Country, with all its mighty Titles and Possessions, made a Barren and empty Thorough fair, thro which Gold and Silver pass from *America* to the rest of the World, and the Nation, from a rich,

acute, diligent and laborious, become a flow, idle, proud and beggarly People; so much for *Spain*: The next Country where Money may be call'd the Product is *Portugal*, and the Figure which that Kindom with all its Gold makes in *Europe*, I think is not much to be envyed.

The great Art then to make a Nation happy, and what we call flourishing, consists in giving every body an Opportunity of being employ'd; which to compass, let a Government's first care be to promote as great a variety of Manufactures, Arts and Handicrafts, as Human Wit can invent; and the second to encourage Agriculture and Fishery in all their Branches, that the whole Earth may be forc'd to exert itself as well as Man; for as the one is an infallible Maxim to draw vast multitudes of People into a Nation, so the other is the only Method to maintain them.

It is from this Policy, and not the trifling Regulations of Lavishness and Frugality, (which will ever take their own Course, according to the Circumstances of the People) that the Greatness and Felicity of Nations must be expected; for let the Value of Gold and Silver either rise or fall, the Enjoyment of all Societies will ever depend upon the Fruits of the Earth, and the Labour

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Labour of the People; both which joyn'd together are a more certain, a more inexhaustible and a more real Treasure than the Gold of *Brazil*, or the Silver of *Potosi*.

(Q) *No Honour now, &c.*

Page 15. Line 3. Honour in its Figurative sense is a Chimera without Truth or Being, an Invention of Moralists and Politicians, and signifies a certain Principle of Virtue not related to Religion, found in some Men that keeps 'em close to their Duty and Engagements whatever they be; as for Example, a Man of Honour enters into a Conspiracy with others to murder a King; he is obliged to go thorough Stitch with it; and if overcome by Remorse or good Nature, he startles at the Enormity of his Purpose, discovers the Plot, and turns a Witness against his Accomplices, he then forfeits his Honour, at least among the Party he belong'd to. The Excellency of this Principle is, that the Vulgar are destitute of it, and it is only to be met with in People of the better sort, as some Oranges have Kernels, and others not, tho' the outside be the same. In great Families it is like the Gout, generally counted Hereditary, and all Lords Children are born with it. In some

some that never felt any thing of it, it is acquired by Conversation and Reading, (especially of Romances) in others by Preference; but there is nothing that encourages the Growth of it more than a Sword, and upon the first wearing of one, some People have felt considerable Shutes of it in Four and twenty Hours.

The chief and most important Care a Man of Honour ought to have, is the Preservation of this Principle, and rather than forfeit it, he must lose his Employments and Estate, nay, Life itself; for which reason, whatever Humility he may shew by way of good Breeding, he is allow'd to put an inestimable Value upon himself, as a Possessor of this invisible Ornament. The only Method to preserve this Principle, is to live up to the Rules of Honour which are Laws he is to walk by: Himself is oblig'd always to be faithful to his Trust, to prefer the publick Interest to his own, not to tell Lies, nor defraud or wrong any Body, and from others to suffer no Affront, which is a Term of Art for every Action designedly done to undervalue him.

The Men of ancient Honour, of which I reckon *Don Quixot* to have been the last upon Record, were very nice Observers of all these Laws, and a great many more than I have

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have named; but the Moderns seem to be more remiss; they have a profound Veneration for the last of 'em, but they pay not an equal Obedience to any of the other, and whoever will but strictly comply with that I hint at, shall have abundance of Trespases against all the rest conniv'd at.

A Man of Honour is always counted impartial, and a Man of Sense of course; for no body ever heard of a Man of Honour that was a Fool: For this reason, he has nothing to do with the Law, and is always allow'd to be a Judge in his own Case; and if the least Injury be done either to himself or his Friend, his Relation, his Servant, his Dog, or any thing which he is pleased to take under his Honourable Protection, Satisfaction must be forthwith demanded, and if it proves an Affront, and he that gave it likewise a Man of Honour, a Battle must ensue. From all this it is evident, that a Man of Honour must be possessed of Courage, and that without it his other Principle would be no more than a Sword without a Point. Let us therefore examine what Courage consists in, and whether it be as most People will have it, a real Something that valiant Men have in their Nature distinct from all their other Qualities or not.

There

There is nothing so universally sincere upon Earth, as the Love which all Creatures, that are capable of any, bear to themselves; and as there is no Love but what implies a Care to preserve the Thing beloved, so there is nothing more sincere in any Creature than his Will, Wishes and Endeavours to preserve himself. This is the Law of Nature, by which no Creature is endued with any Appetite or Passion but what either directly or indirectly tends to the Preservation either of himself or his Species.

The means by which Nature oblige every Creature continually to stir in this Business of Self Preservation, are grafted in him, and (in Man) call'd Desires, which either compel him to crave what he thinks will sustain or please him, or command him to avoid what he imagines might displease, hurt or destroy him. These Desires or Passions have all their different Symptoms by which they manifest themselves to those they disturb. and from that variety of Disturbances they make within us, their various Denominations have been given them, as has been shewn already in Pride and Shame.

The Passion that is rais'd in us when we apprehend that Mischief is approaching us, is call'd Fear: The Disturbance it makes within

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within us is always more or less violent in proportion, not of the Danger, but our Apprehension of the Mischief dreaded, whether real or imaginary. Our Fear then being always proportion'd to the Apprehension we have of the Danger, it follows, that whilst that Apprehension lasts, a Man can no more shake off his Fear than he can a Leg or an Arm. In a Fright it is true, the Apprehension of Danger is so sudden, and attacks us so lively, (as sometimes to take away Reason and Senses) that when 'tis over we often don't remember that we had any Apprehension at all; but from the Event, 'tis plain we had it, for how could we have been frighten'd if we had not apprehended that some Evil or other was coming upon us?

Most People are of Opinion, that this apprehension is to be conquer'd by Reason, but I confess I am not: Those that have been frighten'd will tell you, that as soon as they could recollect themselves, that is, make use of their Reason, their apprehension was conquer'd. But this is no Conquest at all, for in a fright the Danger was either altogether imaginary, or else it is past by that time they can make use of their Reason, and therefore if they find there is no Danger, it is no wonder that they should not

not apprehend any: But when the Danger is permanent, let them then make use of their Reason, and they'll find that it may serve them to examine the greatness and reality of the Danger, and that if they find it less than they imagin'd, their apprehension will be lessen'd accordingly; but if the Danger proves real, and the same in every circumstance as they took it to be at first, then their Reason instead of diminishing will rather encrease their apprehension. Whilst this Fear lasts, no Creature can fight offensively, and yet we see Brutes daily fight obstinately, and worry one another to Death; so that some other Passion must be able to overcome this Fear, and the most contrary to it is Anger; which to trace to the bottom I must beg leave to make another Digression.

No Creature can subsist without Food, nor any Species of them (I speak of the more perfect Animals) continue long unless young ones are continually born as fast as the old ones die. Therefore the first and fiercest Appetite that Nature has given them is Hunger, the next is Lust; the one prompting them to procreate as the other bids them eat. Now if we observe that Anger is that Passion which is rais'd in us when we are cross'd or disturb'd in our Desires, and that

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as it sums up all the strength in Creatures, so it was given them that by it they might exert themselves more vigorously in endeavouring to remove, overcome, or destroy whatever obstructs them in the pursuit of Self-Preservation; we shall find that Brutes, unless themselves or what they love, or the Liberty of either are threatned or attack'd, have nothing worth notice that can move them to Anger but *Hunger* or *Lust*. 'Tis they that make them more fierce, for we must observe, that the Appetites of Creatures are as actually cross'd, whilst they want and cannot meet with what they desire (tho' perhaps with less violence) as when hindred from enjoying what they have in view. What I have said will appear more plainly, if we but mind what no body can be ignorant of, which is this: All Creatures upon Earth live either upon the Fruits and Product of it, or else the Flesh of other Animals, their fellow Creatures. The latter, which we call Beasts of Prey, Nature has arm'd accordingly, and given them Weapons and Strength to overcome and tear asunder those whom she has design'd for their Food, and likewise a much keener Appetite than to other Animals that live upon Herbs, &c. for as to the first, if a
Cow

Cow lov'd Mutton as well as she does Grals, being made as she is, and having no Claws or Talons, and but one Row of Teeth before that are all of an equal length, she would be starv'd even among a Flock of Sheep. Secondly, as to their voraciousness, if Experience did not teach it us, our Reason might: In the first place it is highly probable that the Hunger, which can make a Creature fatigue, harrass and expose himself to danger for every bit he eats, is more piercing than that which only bids him eat what stands before him, and which he may have for stooping down. In the second, it is to be considered, that as Beasts of Prey have an instinct by which they learn to crave, trace, and discover those Creatures that are good Food for them, so the others have likewise an instinct that teaches them to shun, conceal themselves, and run away from those that hunt after them: From hence it must follow, that Beasts of Prey, tho' they could almost eat for ever, go yet more often with empty Bellies than other Creatures, whose Victuals neither fly from nor oppose them. This must perpetuate as well as encrease their Hunger, which hereby becomes a constant Fuel to their Anger.

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If you ask me what stirs up this Anger in Bulls and Cocks that will fight to Death, and yet are neither Animals of Prey nor very voracious, I answer, *Lust*. Those Creatures, whose Rage proceeds from Hunger, both Male and Female attack every thing they can master, and fight obstinately against all: But the Animals, whose Fury is provok'd by a Venereal ferment, being generally Males, exert themselves chiefly against other Males of the same Species. They may do mischief by chance to other Creatures, but the main objects of their hatred are their Rivals, and it is against them only that their Prowess and Fortitude are shewn. We see likewise in all those Creatures of which the Male is able to satisfy a great number of Females, a more considerable superiority in the Male express'd by Nature in his Make and Features as well as fierceness, than is observ'd in other Creatures where the Male is contented with one or two Females. Dogs, tho' become Domestick Animals, are ravenous to a Proverb, and those of them that will fight being Carnivorous, would soon become Beasts of Prey, if not fed by us; what we may observe in them is an ample proof of what I have hitherto advanc'd. Those of a true fighting Breed, being voracious Creatures, both Male and Female

Female, will fasten upon any thing, and suffer themselves to be kill'd before they give over. As the Female is rather more salacious than the Male, so there is no difference in their make at all, what distinguishes the Sexes excepted, and the Female is rather the fiercest of the two. A Bull is a terrible Creature when he is kept up, but where he has twenty or more Cows to range among, in a little time he'll become as tame as any of them, and a dozen Hens will spoil the best game Cock in *England*. Harts and Deer are counted chaste and timorous Creatures, and so indeed they are almost all the Year long, except in Rutting time, and then on a sudden they become bold to admiration, and often make at the Keepers themselves.

That the influence of those two principal Appetites, Hunger and Lust, upon the temper of Animals, is not so whimsical as some may imagine, may be partly demonstrated from what is observable in our selves; for though our Hunger is infinitely less violent than that of Wolves and other ravenous Creatures, yet we see that People who are in Health and have a tolerable Stomach, are more fretful, and sooner put out of Humour for Trifles when they stay for their Victuals beyond their usual Hours, than at any other time. And again, tho' Lust in Man is not so

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to raging as it is in Bulls and other salacious Creatures, yet nothing provokes Men and Women both sooner and more violently to Anger, than what crosses their Amours, when they are heartily in Love; and the most fearful and tenderly educated of either Sex, have slighted the greatest dangers, and set aside all other considerations to compass the destruction of a Rival.

Hitherto I have endeavour'd to demonstrate, that no Creature can fight offensively as long as his Fear lasts; that Fear cannot be conquer'd but by another Passion; that the most contrary to it, and most effectual to overcome it is Anger; that the two principal Appetites which disappointed can stir up this last named Passion are *Hunger* and *Lust*, and that in all Brute Beasts the proneness to Anger and Obstinacy in fighting generally depend upon the violence of either or both those Appetites together: From whence it must follow, that what we call Prowess or natural Courage in Creatures, is nothing but the effect of Anger, and that all fierce Animals must be either very Ravenous or very Lustful, if not both.

Let us now examine what by this Rule we ought to judge of our own Species. From the tenderness of Man's Skin, and the great care that is required for Years together to rear

rear him; from the Make of his Jaws, the evenness of his Teeth, the breadth of his Nails, and the slowness of both, it is not probable that Nature should have design'd him for Rapine; for this Reason his Hunger is not voracious as it is in Beasts of Prey; neither is he so salacious as other Animals that are call'd so, and being besides very industrious to supply his wants, he can have no reigning Appetite to perpetuate his Anger, and must consequently be a timorous Animal.

What I have said last must only be understood of Man in his Savage State: for if we examine him as a Member of a Society and a taught Animal, we shall find him quite another Creature: As soon as his Pride has room to Play, and Envy, Avarice and Ambition begin to catch hold of him, he is rous'd from his natural Innocence and Stupidity. As his Knowledge encreases, his Desires are enlarg'd, and consequently his Wants and Appetites are multiply'd: Hence it must follow, that he will be often cross'd in the pursuit of them, and meet with a bundance more disappointment to stir up his Anger in this than his former Condition, and Man would in a little time become the most hurtful and obnoxious Creature in the World, if let alone, whenever he could

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could over power his Adversary, if he had no Mischief to fear but from the Person that anger'd him.

The first care therefore of all Governments is by severe Punishments to curb his Anger when it does hurt, and so by encreasing his Fears prevent the mischief it might produce. When various Laws to restrain him from using Force are strictly executed, Self Preservation must teach him to be peaceable; and as it is every body's business to be as little disturb'd as is possible, his Fears will be continually augmented and enlarg'd as he advances in Experience, Understanding and Foresight. The consequence of this must be, that as the Provocations he will receive to Anger will be infinite in the civiliz'd State, so his Fears to damp it will be the same, and thus in a little time he'll be taught with his Fears to destroy his Anger, and by Art in a different manner to act toward the same Self Preservation for which Nature before had furnished him with Anger, as well as the rest of his Passions.

The only useful Passion then that Man is possess'd of toward the peace and quiet of a Society, is his Fear, and the more you work upon it the more orderly and governable he'll be; for how useful soever Anger may be to Man, as he is a single Creature
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by himself, yet the Society has no manner of occasion for it : But nature being always the same in the Formation of Animals, produces all Creatures as like to those that beget and bear them as the place she forms them in, and the various influences from without will give her leave, and consequently all Men, whether they are born in Courts or Forests, are susceptible of Anger. When this Passion overcomes (as among all degrees of People it sometimes does) the whole Set of Fears Man has, he has true Courage, and will fight as boldly as a Lyon or a Tyger, and at no other time ; and I shall endeavour to prove, that whatever is call'd Courage in Man, when he is not Angry, is spurious and artificial.

It is possible by good Government to keep a Society always quiet in itself, but no body can ensure Peace from without for ever. The Society may have occasion to extend their limits further, and enlarge their Territories, or others may invade theirs, or some thing else will happen that Man must be brought to fight : for as civiliz'd as Men can be, they never forget that Force goes beyond Reason: The Politician now must alter his Measures, and take off some of Man's Fears ; he must strive to persuade him, that all what was told him before of
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the Barbarity of killing Men ceases as soon as these Men are Enemies to the Publick, and that their Adversaries are neither so good nor so strong as themselves. These Things well manag'd will seldom fail of drawing the hardiest, the most quarrellsome, and the most mischievous in to Combat; but unless they are better qualify'd, I won't answer for their behaviour there. If once you can make them undervalue their Enemies, you may soon stir them up to Anger, and while that lasts they'll fight with greater Obstinacy than any disciplin'd Troops: But if any thing happens that was unforeseen, and a sudden great Noise, a Tempest, or any strange or uncommon Accident, that seems to threaten 'em, intervenes, Fear seizes 'em, disarms their Anger, and makes 'em run away to a Man.

This natural Courage therefore, as soon as People begin to have more Wit, must be soon exploded. In the first Place those that have felt the smart of the Enemy's Blows, won't always believe what is said to undervalue him, and are often not easily provok'd to Anger. Secondly, Anger consisting in an Ebullition of the Spirits, is a Passion of no long continuance (*Ira furor brevis est*) and the Enemies, if they withstand the first Shock of these Angry People,

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have commonly the better of it. Thirdly, as long as People are angry, all Counsel and Discipline are lost upon them, and they can never be brought to use Art or Conduct in their Battels. Anger then, without which no Creature has natural Courage, being altogether useless in a War to be manag'd by Stratagem, and brought into a regular Art, the Government must find out an equivalent for Courage that will make Men fight.

Whoever will civilize Men, and establish them in a Body Politick, must be thoroughly acquainted with all the Passions and Appetites, Strength and Weaknesses of their Frame, and understand how to turn their greatest Frailties to the advantage of the Publick. In the Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue, I have shewn how easily Men were induc'd to believe any thing that is said in their Praise. If therefore a Law giver or Politician, they have a great Veneration for, should tell them, that the generality of Men had within them a Principle of Valour distinct from Anger, or any other Passion, that made them to despise Danger and face Death itself with Intrepidity, and that they who had the most of it were the most valuable of their kind, it is very likely, considering what has been said, that most of them, tho' they felt nothing of this

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this Principle, would swallow it for Truth, and that the Proudest feeling themselves mov'd at this piece of Flattery, and not well vers'd in distinguishing the Passions, might imagine that they felt it heaving in their Breasts, by mistaking Pride for Courage. If but One in Ten can be perswaded openly to declare, that he is possess'd of this Principle, and maintain it against all Gainsayers, there will soon be half a dozen that shall assert the same. Whoever has once own'd it is engaged, the Politician has nothing to do, but to take all imaginable Care to flatter the Pride of those that brag of, and are willing to stand by it, a thousand different ways: The same Pride that drew him in first will ever after oblige him to defend the Assertion, till at last the fear of discovering the reality of his Heart, becomes to be so great that it out does the fear of Death itself. Do but encrease Man's Pride and the fear of Shame will ever be proportion'd to it; for the greater value a Man sets upon himself, the more Pains he'll take and the greater Hardships he'll undergo to avoid Shame.

The great Art then to make Man Courageous, is first to make him own this Principle of Valour within, and afterwards to inspire him with as much horror against

Shame, as Nature has given him against Death; and that there are things to which Man has, or may have, a stronger aversion than he has to Death, is evident from *Suicide*. He that makes Death his choice, must look upon it as less terrible than what he shuns by it; for whether the Evil dreaded be present or to come, real or imaginary, no body would kill himself wilfully but to avoid something. *Lucretia* held out bravely against all the attacks of the Ravisher, even when he threaten'd her Life; which shews that she valued her Virtue beyond it: But when he threaten'd her Reputation with eternal Infamy, she fairly surrender'd, and then slew herself; a certain sign that she valued her Virtue less than her Glory, and her Life less than either. The fear of Death did not make her yield, for she resolv'd to die before she did it, and her compliance must only be consider'd as a Bribe to make *Tarquin* forbear sullying her Reputation: so that Life had neither the first nor second place in the esteem of *Lucretia*. The Courage then which is only useful to the Body Politick, and what is generally call'd true Valour, is artificial, and consists in a *Superlative Horror against Shame*, by Flattery infused into Men of exalted Pride.

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As soon as the Notions of Honour and Shame are received among a Society, it is not difficult to make Men fight. First, take care they are perswaded of the Justice of their Cause, for no Man fights heartily that thinks himself in the wrong; then shew them that their Altars, their Possessions, Wives, Children, and every thing that is dear and dear to them is concerned in the present Quarrel, or at least may be influenced by it hereafter; then put Feathers in their Caps, and distinguish them from others, talk of Publick-Spiritedness, the Love of their Country, facing an Enemy with Intrepidity, despising Death, the Bed of Honour, and such like high sounding Words, and every Proud Man will take up Arms and fight himself to Death before he'll turn tail, if it be by Day light. One Man in an Army is a check upon another, and a hundred of them that single and without witness would be all Cowards, are for fear of incurring one another's Contempt made Valiant by being together. To continue and heighten this artificial Courage, all that run away ought to be punish'd with Ignominy; those that fought well, whether they did beat or were beaten, must be flatter'd and solemnly commended; those that lost their Limbs rewarded, and those that were kill'd ought,

bove all, to be taken notice of, artfully lamented, and to have extraordinary Encouragements bestow'd upon them; for to pay Honours to the Dead, will ever be a sure Method to make Bubbles of the Living.

When I say that the Courage made use of in the Wars is artificial, I don't imagine that by the same Art all Men may be made equally Valiant: As Men have not an equal share of Pride, and differ from one another in Shape and inward Structure, it is impossible they should be all equally fit for the same uses. Some Men will never be able to learn Musick, and yet make good Mathematicians; others will play excellently well upon the Violin, and yet be Coxcombs as long as they live, let them converse with whom they please. But to shew that this is no evasion I shall prove, that, setting aside what I said of artificial Courage already, what the greatest Heroe differs in from the rankest Coward, is altogether Corporeal, and depends upon the inward make of Man. What I mean is call'd Constitution; by which is understood the orderly or disorderly mixture of the *Fluids* in the Body: That Constitution which favours Courage, consists in the natural Strength, Elasticity and due Contexture of the finer Spirits, and upon them wholly depends what we call

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Stedfastness, Resolution and Obstinacy. It is the only Ingredient that is common to natural and artificial Bravery, and is to either what Size is to white Walls, which hinders them from coming off, and makes them lasting. That some People are very much, others very little frighten'd at things that are strange and sudden to them, is likewise altogether owing to the firmness or imbecility in the Tone of the Spirits. Pride is of no use in a Fright, because whilst it lasts we can't think, which, being counted a disgrace, is the reason People are always angry with any thing that frightens them as soon as the surprise is over ; and when at the turn of a Battle the Conquerors give no Quarter, and are very cruel, it is a sign their Enemies fought well, and had put them first into great Fears.

That Resolution depends upon this Tone of the Spirits, appears likewise from the effects of strong Liquors, the fiery Particles whereof crowding into the Brain, strengthen the Spirits ; their Operation imitates that of Anger, which I said before was an Ebullition of the Spirits. It is for this reason that most People when they are in Drink, are sooner touch'd and more prone to Anger than at other times, and some raving Mad without any Provocation at all. It is like-

wise observ'd, that Brandy makes Men more Quarrellsome at the same pitch of Drunkenness than Wine; because the Spirits of distill'd Waters have abundance of fiery Particles mixt with them, which the other has not. The Contexture of Spirits is so weak in some, that tho' they have Pride enough, no Art can ever make them fight or overcome their Fears; but this is a Defect in the Principle of the *Fluids*, as other Deformities are faults of the *Solids*. These pusillanimous People are never thoroughly provok'd to Anger, where there is any Danger, and drinking ever makes em bolder, but seldom so resolute as to attack any, unless they be Women or Children, or such who they know dare not resist. This Constitution is often influenced by Health and Sickness, and impair'd by great losses of Blood; sometimes it is corrected by Diet; and it is this which the Duke de la Rochefoucault means when he says; *Vanity, Shame, and above all Constitution, make up very often the Courage of Men and Virtue of Women.*

There is nothing that more improves the useful Martial Courage I treat of, and at the same time shews it to be artificial, than Practice; for when Men are disciplin'd, come to be acquainted with all the Tools of Death and Engines of Destruction, and the Shouts,
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the Outcries, the Fire and Smoak, the Groans of Wounded, and ghostly Looks of dying Men, mangled, Carcasses, with all the various Scenes of bloody Limbs tore off, begin to be familiar to them, their Fears abate apace ; not that they are now less afraid to die than before, but being used so often to see the same Dangers, they apprehend the reality of them less than they did : As they are deservedly valued for every Siege they are at, and every Battel they are in, it is impossible but the several Actions they share in must continually become as many solid Steps by which their Pride mounts up, and thus their Fear of Shame, which, as I said before, will always be proportion'd to their Pride, encreasing as the apprehension of the Danger decreases, it is no wonder that most of them learn to discover little or no Fear ; and some great Generals are able to preserve a Presence of Mind, and counterfeit a calm Serenity within the midst of all the Noise, Horror and Confusion that attend a Battle.

So silly a Creature is Man, as that, intoxicated with the fumes of Vanity, he can feast on the thoughts of the Praises that shall be paid his Memory in future Ages with so much extasy, as to neglect his present Life, nay court and covet Death, if he but imagines that it will add to the Glory he had

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acquir'd before. There is no pitch of Self-denial that a Man of Pride and Constitution cannot reach, nor any Passion so violent but he'll sacrifice it to another which is superior to it; and here I can but admire at the Simplicity of some good Men, who when they hear of the Joy and Alacrity with which holy Men in Persecutions have suffer'd for their Faith, imagine that such Constancy must exceed all human Force, unless it was supported by some miraculous Assistance from Heaven. As most People are unwilling to acknowledge all the frailties of their Species, so they are unacquainted with the Strength of our Nature, and know not that some Men of firm Constitution may work themselves up into Enthusiasm by no other help than the violence of their Passions; yet it is certain, that there have been Men who only assisted with Pride and Constitution to maintain the worst of Causes, have undergone Death and Torments with as much cheerfulness as the best of Men, animated with Piety and Devotion, ever did for the true Religion.

To prove this assertion I could produce many Instances; but one or two will be sufficient. *Jordanus Bruno* of *Nola*, who wrote that horrid piece of Blasphemy call'd *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*, and the infamous

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Vannini were both executed for openly professing and teaching of *Atheism*: The latter might have been pardon'd the Moment before the Execution, if he would have retracted his Doctrine; but rather than recant, he chose to be burnt to Ashes. As he went to the Stake, he was so far from shewing any concern, that he held his Hand out to a Physician whom he happen'd to know, desiring him to judge of the calmness of his Mind by the regularity of his Pulse, and from thence taking an opportunity of making an impious Comparison, utter'd a Sentence too execrable to be mention'd. To these we may joyn one *Mahomet Effendi*, who, as Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, was put to Death at *Constantinople*, for having advanc'd some Notions against the Existence of a God. He likewise might have sav'd his Life by confessing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but chose rather to persist in his Blasphemies, saying, *Tho' he had no Reward to expect, the Love of Truth constrain'd him to suffer Martyrdom in its defence.*

I have made this Digression chiefly to shew the Strength of Humane Nature, and what meer Man may perform by Pride and Constitution alone. Man may certainly be as violently rous'd by his Vanity as a Lyon is by his Anger, and not only this, Avarice,

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Revenge, Ambition, and almost every Passion, Pity not excepted, when they are extraordinary, may, by overcoming Fear, serve him, and even by himself be mistaken for a Principle of Valour; as daily Experience must teach every body that will examine and look into the Motives from which some Men act. But that we may more clearly perceive what this pretended Principle is really built upon, let us look into the management of Military Affairs, and we shall find that Pride is no where so openly encouraged as there. As for Cloths, the very lowest of the Commission Officers have them richer, or at least more gay and splendid, than are generally wore by other People of four or five times their Income. Most of them, and especially those that have Families, and can hardly subsist, would be very glad, all *Europe* over, to be less Expensive that way; but it is a Force put upon them to uphold their Pride, which they don't think on.

But the ways and means to rouse Man's Pride, and catch him by it, are no where more grossly conspicuous than in the Treatment which the Common Soldiers receive, whose Vanity is to be work'd upon, (because there must be so many, at the cheapest Rate imaginable. Things we are accustomed

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stom'd to we don't mind, or else what Mortal that never had seen a Soldier could look upon a Man accoutred with so much paultry Gaudiness and affected Finery, without laughing? The coarsest Manufacture that can be made of Wool dy'd of a Brick-dust colour, goes down with him, because it is imitation of Scarlet or Crimsom Cloth, and to make him think himself as like his Officer as 'tis possible with little or no Cost, instead of Silver or Gold Lace, his Hat is trim'd with white or yellow Worsted, which in others would deserve *Bethlem*; yet these fine Allurements, and the noise made upon a Calf's skin, have drawn in and been the Destruction of more Men in reality, than all the killing Eyes and bewitching Voices of Women ever slew in Jest. To Day the Swineherd puts on his red Coat, and believes every body in earnest that calls him Gentleman, and two Days after Sergeant *Kite* gives him a swinging wrap with his Cane, for holding his Musquet an Inch higher than he should do. As to the real Dignity of the Employment, in the two last Wars Officers, when Recruits were wanted, were allow'd to list Fellows convicted of Burglary and other Capital Crimes, which shews, that to be made a Soldier is deem'd to be a Preferment next to hanging. A Trooper is
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yet worse than a Foot Soldier; for when he is most at Ease, he has the Mortification of being Groom to a Horse that spends more Money than himself. When a Man reflects on all this, the Usage they generally receive from their Officers, their Pay, and the Care that is taken of them, when they are not wanted, must he not wonder how Wretches can be so silly as to be proud of being call'd *Gentlemen Soldiers*? Yet if they were not, no Art, Discipline or Money would be capable of making them so Brave as Thousands of them are,

If we will mind what Effects Man's Bravery without any other Qualifications to to sweeten him, would have out of an Army, we shall find that it would be very pernicious to the Civil Society, for if Man could conquer all his Fears, you would hear of nothing but Rapes, Murthers and Violences of all sorts, and Valiant Men would be like Gyants in Romances: Politicks therefore discover'd in Men a mixt Mettle-Principle, which was a Compound of Justice, Honesty and all the Moral Virtues joyn'd to Courage, and all that were possess'd of it turn'd Knights-Errand of course. They did abundance of Good throughout the World, by taming Monsters, delivering the Distress'd, and killing the Oppressors. But the Wings
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of all the Dragons being clipt, the Gyants destroy'd, and the Damsels every where set at Liberty, except some few in *Spain* and *Italy*, who remain'd still Captivated by their Monsters, the Order of Chivalry, to whom the Standard of Ancient Honour belong'd, has been laid aside some time. It was like their Armours very massy and heavy; the many Virtues about it made it very troublesome, and as Ages grow wiser and wiser, the Principle of Honour in the beginning of the last Century, was melted over again, and brought to a new Standard; they put in the same weight of Courage, half the quantity of Honesty, and a very little Justice, but not a Scrap of any other Virtue, which has made it very easie and portable to what it was. However, such as is it there would be no living without in a large Nation; it is the tye of Society, and though we are beholding to our Frailties for the chief Ingredient of it, there is no Virtue at least that I am acquainted with, that has been half so instrumental to the civilizing of Mankind, which in great Societies would soon degenerate into cruel Villains and treacherous Slaves, were Honour to be remov'd from among them.

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As to the Duelling Part which belongs to it, I pity the Unfortunate whose Lot it is; but to say, that those who are guilty of it go by false Rules, or mistake the Notions of Honour, is ridiculous; for either there is no Honour at all, or it teaches Men to resent Injuries, and accept of Challenges. You may as well deny that it is the fashion, what you see every body wear, as to say that demanding and giving Satisfaction is against the Laws of true Honour. Those that rail at Duelling, don't consider the Benefit the Society receives from that Fashion: If every ill bred Fellow might use what Language he pleas'd, without being call'd to an Account for it, all Conversation would be spoil'd. Some grave People tell us, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* were such valiant Men, and yet knew nothing of Duelling but in their Country's Quarrel. This is very true, but for that reason the Kings and Princes in *Homer* gave one another worse Language than our Porters and Hackney Coachmen would be able to bear without Resentment.

Would you hinder Duelling, pardon nobody that offends that way, and make the Laws against it as severe as you can, but don't take away the thing itself, the Custom of it. This will not only prevent the Frequency
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of it, but likewise of rendring the most resolute and most Powerful cautious and circumspect in their Behaviour, polish and brighten Society in general. Nothing civilizes a Man equally as his Fear, and if not all, (as my Lord *Rocheſter* ſaid) at leaſt moſt Men would be Cowards if they durſt: The dread of being call'd to an account keeps abundance in awe, and there are thouſands of Mannerly and well accompliſh'd Gentlemen in *Europe*, who would have been insolent and ſupportable Coxcombs without it; beſides if it was out of Faſhion to aſk Satisfaction for Injuries which the Law cannot take hold of, there would be twenty times the Miſchief done there is now, or elſe you muſt have twenty times the Conſtables and other Officers to keep the Peace. I confeſs that though it happens but ſeldom, it is a Calamity to the People, and generally the Families it falls upon; but there can no perfect Happineſs in this World, and all Felicity has an Allay. The Act it ſelf is uncharitable, but when above Thirty in a Nation deſtroy themſelves in one Year, and not half that number are kill'd by others, I don't think the People can be ſaid to love their Neighbours worſe than themſelves. It is ſtrange that a Nation ſhould grudge to ſee perhaps half a dozen Men ſacrifiſ'd in a
Twelve.

Twelvemonth to obtain so valuable a Blessing, as the Politeness of Manners, the Pleasure of Conversation, and the happiness of Company in general, that is often so willing to expose, and sometimes loses as many thousands in a few Hours without knowing whether it will do any good or not.

I would have no body that reflects on the mean Original of Honour complain of being gull'd and made a Property by cunning Politicians, but desire every body to be satisfied, that the Governors of Societies and those in high Stations are greater Bubbles to Pride than any of the rest. If some great Men had not a superlative Pride and every body understood the Enjoyment of Life, who wou'd be a Lord Chancellor of *England*, a Prime Minister of State in *France*, or what gives more Fatigue, and not a sixth part of the Profit of either, a Grand Pensionary of *Holland*? The reciprocal Services which all Men pay to one another, are the Foundation of the Society. The great ones are not flatter'd with their high Birth for nothing, 'tis to rouse their Pride, and excite them to glorious Actions, that we extol their Race, whether it deserves it or not, and some Men have been complimented with the Greatness of their Family, and the Merit of their Ancestors, when in the

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the whole Generation you cou'd not find two but what were uxorious Fools, silly Bigots, noted Poltroons or debauch'd Whoremasters. The establish'd Pride that is inseparable from those that are possess'd of Titles already, makes them often strive as much not to seem unworthy of them, as the working Ambition of others that are yet without, renders them industrious and indefatigable to deserve them. When a Gentleman is made a Baron or an Earl, it is as great a Check upon him in many respects as a Gown and Cassock are to a young Student that has been newly taken into Orders.

The only thing of weight that can be said against modern Honour is, that it is directly opposite to Religion. The one bids you bear Injuries with Patience, the other tells you if you don't resent them, you are not fit to live. Religion commands you to leave all Revenge to God, Honour bids you trust your Revenge to no body but your self, even where the Law would do it for you. Religion plainly forbids Murther, Honour openly justifies it. Religion bids you not shed Blood upon any account whatever, Honour bids you fight for the least Trifle. Religion is built on Humility, and Honour upon Pride. How to reconcile them must be left to wiser Heads than mine.

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The Reason why there are so few Men of real Virtue, and so many of real Honour, is, because all the Recompence a Man has of a Virtuous Action, is the Pleasure of doing it, which most People reckon but poor Pay; but the Self denial a Man of Honour submits to in one Appetite, is immediately rewarded by the Satisfaction he receives from another, and what he abates of his Avarice, or any other Passion is doubly repaid to his Pride: Besides, Honour gives large Grains of Allowance, and Virtue none. A Man of Honour must not cheat or tell a Lye; he must punctually repay what he borrows at Play, though the Creditor has nothing to shew for it; but he may drink and swear and owe Money to all the Tradesmen in Town, without taking Notice of their dunning. A Man of Honour must be true to his Prince and Country, whilst he is in thier Service; but if he thinks himself not well used, he may quit it, and do them all the Mischief he can. A Man of Honour must never change his Religion for Interest, but he may be as debauch'd as he pleases, and never practise any. He must make no Attempts upon his Friend's Wife, Daughter, Sister, or any body that is trusted to his Care, but he may lye with all the World besides.

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(R) *No Limner for his Art is fam'd,
Stone-cutters, Carvers are not nam'd :*

Page 16. Line 13. It is without doubt, that among the Consequences of a National Honesty and Frugality, it wou'd be one not to build any new Houses, or use new Materials, as long as there were old ones enough to serve. By this three Parts in four of *Masons, Carpenters, Bricklayers, &c.* would want Employment; and the building Trade being once destroy'd, what wou'd become of *Limning, Carving,* and other Arts that are ministring to *Luxury*, and have been carefully forbid by those Law-givers that preferr'd a good and honest, to a great and wealthy Society, and endeavour'd to render their Subjects rather Virtuous than Rich. By a Law of *Lycurgus*, it was enacted, That the Ceiling of the *Spartan Houses* should only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors only smooth'd by the Saw; and this, says *Plutarch*, was not without Mystery; for if *Epaminondas* could say with so good a Grace, inviting some of his Friends to his Table, *Come, Gentlemen, be secure, Treason would never come to such a poor Dinner as this.* Why might not this great Law-giver, in
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all probability, have thought, that such ill-favour'd Houses would never be capable of receiving Luxry and Superfluity?

It is reported, as the same Author tells us, that King *Leotichidas*, the first of that Name, who so little used to the sight of Carv'd Work, that being entertain'd at *Corinth* in a stately Room, he was much surpriz'd to see the Timber and Ceiling so finely wrought, ask'd his Host whether the Trees grew so in his Country.

The same want of Employment wou'd reach innumerable Callings, and among the rest, those

*That join'd rich Silks with Plate,
And all the Trades subordinate.*

(As the Fable has it) wou'd be one of the first that should have reason to complain; for the Price of Land and Houses being, by the removal of the vast numbers that had left the Hive, sunk very low on the one side, and every body abhorring all other ways of Gain, but such as were strictly honest on the other. It is not probable that many without Pride or Prodigality shou'd be able to wear Cloth of Gold and Silver, or rich Brocades. The Consequence of which would be, that not only the *Weaver* but

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but likewise the *Silver-spinner*, the *Flatter*, the *Wire-drawer*, the *Bar-man*, and the *Refiner*, wou'd in a little time be affected with this Frugality.

(S) *Content, the Bane of Industry.*

Page 17. Line the last. I have been told by many, that the Bane of Industry is Laziness and not Content; therefore to prove my Assertion, which seems a Paradox to some, I shall treat of Laziness and Content separately, and afterwards speak of Industry, that the Reader may judge which it is of the two former that is most opposite to the latter.

Laziness is an Aversion to Business, generally attended with an unreasonable desire of remaining unactive, and every body is lazy, who without being hinder'd by any other warrantable Employment, refuses or puts off any Business which he ought to do for himself or others. We seldom call any body lazy, but such as we reckon inferior to us, and of whom we expect some Service. Children don't think their Parents lazy, nor Servants their Masters, and if a Gentleman indulges his Ease and Sloth so abominably, that he won't put on his own Shoes, though he is young and slender, no body

body shall call him lazy for it, if he can keep but a Footman or some body else to do it for him.

Mr. *Dryden* has given us a very good Idea of superlative Slothfulness in the Person of a Luxurious King of *Agypt*. His Majesty having bestow'd some considerable Gifts on several of his Favourites, is attended by some of his chief Ministers with a Parchment which he was to sign to confirm those Grants. First he walks a few Turns to and fro with a heavy uneasiness in his Looks, then sits himself down like a Man that's tired, and at last with abundance of Reluctancy to what he was going about, he takes up the Pen, and falls a complaining very seriously of the length of the Word *Ptolomey*, and expresses a great deal of Concern, that he had not some short Monosyllable to his Name, which he thought wou'd save him a world of Trouble.

We often reproach others with Laziness, because we are guilty of it our selves. Some days ago as two young Women sat knotting together, says one to the other, there comes a wicked Cold through that Door, you are the nearest to it, Sister, pray shut it. The other, who was the youngest, vouchsafed indeed to cast a Look towards the Door, but sat still and said nothing ;
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the eldest spoke again two or three times, and at last the other making her no Answer, nor offering to stir, she got up in a Pet and shut the Door herself; coming back to sit down again, she gave the younger a very hard Look, and said, *Lord, Sister Betty, I would not be so lazy as you are for all the World*; which she spoke so earnestly, that it brought a Colour in her Face. The youngest should have risen I own, but if the eldest had not over-valu'd her Labour, she would have shut the Door herself, as soon as the Cold was offensive to her, without making any words of it. She was not above a Step farther from the Door than her Sister, and as to Age, there was not eleven Months difference between them, and they were both under Twenty. I thought it a hard Matter to determine which was the laziest of the two.

There are a thousand Wretches that are always working the Marrow out of their Bones for next to nothing, because they are unthinking and ignorant of what the Pains they take are worth; whilst others who are cunning and understand the true value of their Work, refuse to be employ'd at under Rates, not because they are of an unactive Temper, but because they won't bear down the Price of their Labour. A Country Gen-

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tleman sees at the back side of the *Exchange* a Porter walking to and fro with his Hands in his Pockets. Pray, says he, Friend, will you step for me with this Letter as far as *Bow Church*, and I'll give you a Penny. I'll go with all my Heart, says t'other, but I must have Two pence, Master; which the Gentleman refusing to give, the Fellow turn'd his Back, and told him, he'd rather play for nothing than work for nothing. The Gentleman thought it an unaccountable piece of Laziness in a Porter, rather to saunter up and down for nothing than to be earning a Penny with as little trouble. Some Hours after he happen'd to be with some Friends at a Tavern in *Threadneedlestreet*, where one of them calling to mind that he had forgot to send for a Bill of Exchange that was to go away with the Post that Night, was in great Perplexity, and immediately wanted some body to go for him to *Hackney* with all the expedition imaginable. It was after Ten, in the middle of Winter, a very rainy Night, and all the Porters thereabouts were gone to Bed. The Gentleman grew very uneasy, and said whatever it cost him that some body he must send; at last one of the Drawers seeing him so very pressing, told him that he knew a Porter, who would rise, if it was a Job worth his while. Worth

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his while, said the Gentleman very eagerly, don't doubt of that, good Lad, if you know of any body, let him make what haste he can, and I'll give him a Crown if he back by Twelve o'Clock. Upon this the Drawer took the Errand, left the Room, and in less than a Quarter of an Hour came back with the welcome News that the Message would be dispatch'd with all Expedition. The Company in the mean time diverted themselves as they had done before, but when it began to be towards Twelve, the Watches were pull'd out, and the Porter's return was all the Discourse. Some were of Opinion he might yet come before the Clock had struck; others thought it impossible, and now it wanted but three Minutes of Twelve when in comes the nimble Messenger smoking hot, with his Cloaths as wet as Dung with the Rain, and his Head all over in a Bath of Sweat. He had nothing dry about him but the inside of his Pocket-Boat, out of which he took the Bill he had been for, and by the Drawer's Direction, presented it to the Gentleman it belong'd to; who being very well pleas'd with the Dispatch he had made, gave him the Crown he had promis'd, whilst another fill'd him a Bumper, and the whole Company commended his diligence. As the Fellow came nearer the

Light, to take up the Wine, the Country Gentleman I mentioned at first, to his great Admiration, knew him to be the same Porter that had refus'd to earn his Penny, and whom he thought the laziest Mortal Alive.

This Story teaches us, that we ought not to confound those who remain unemploy'd for want of an Opportunity of exerting themselves to the best Advantage, with such as for want of Spirit, hug themselves in their Sloth, and will rather starve than stir. Without this Caution, we must pronounce all the World more or less lazy, according to their Estimation of the Reward they are to purchase with their Labour, and then the most Industrious may be call'd lazy.

Content I call that calm Serenity of the Mind, which Men enjoy whilst they think themselves happy, and rest satisfied with the Station they are in: It implies a favourable Construction of our present Circumstances, and a peaceful Tranquility, which Men are Strangers to as long as they are solicitous about mending their Condition. This is a Virtue of which the Applause is very precarious and uncertain; for according as Men's Circumstances vary, they'll either be blam'd or commended for being possess'd of it.

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A single Man that works hard at a laborious Trade, has a hundred a Year left him by a Relation: This Change of Fortune makes him soon weary of working, and not having Industry enough to put himself forward in the World, he resolves to do nothing at all and live upon his Income. As long as he lives within Compass, pays for what he has, and offends no body, he shall be call'd an honest, quiet Man. The Victualler, his Landlay, the Taylor and others divide what he has between them, and the Society is every Year the better for his Revenue. whereas, if he should follow his own or any other Trade, he must hinder others, and some body would have the less for what he should get; and therefore, tho' he should be the idlest Fellow in the World, lie a'Bed Fifteen Hours in Four and twenty, and do nothing but sauntering up and down all the rest of the time, no body wou'd discommend him, and his unactive Spirit is honour'd with the Name of Content.

But if the same Man marries, gets three or four Children, and still continues of the same easy Temper, rests satisfied with what he has, and without endeavouring to get a Penny, indulges his former Sloth: First, his Relations, afterwards all his Acquain-

tance will be allarm'd at his Negligence: They foresee that his Income will not be sufficient to bring up so many Children handsomely, and are afraid some of them may, if not a Burden, become a Disgrace to them. When these Fears have been for some time whisper'd about from one to another, his Uncle *Gripe* takes him to Task, and accosts him in the following Cant; *What, Nephew, no Business yet! Fie upon't! I can't imagine how you do to spend your Time; if you won't work at your own Trade, there are fifty ways that a Man may pick up a Penny by: You have a Hundred a Year, 'tis true, but your Charges encrease every Year, and what must you do when your Children are grown up? I have a better Estate than you my self, and yet you don't see me leave off my Business; nay, I declare it, might I have the World I could not lead the Life you do. 'Tis no Business of mine, I own, but every body crys, 'tis a shame a young Man as you are, that has his Limbs and his Health should not turn his Hands to something or other. If these Admonitions do not reform him in a little time, and he continues half a Year longer without Employment, he'll become a Discourse to the whole Neighbourhood, and for the same Qualifications that once got him the Name of a quiet contented Man,*
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he shall be call'd the worst of Husbands and the laziest Fellow upon Earth: From whence it is manifest, that when we pronounce Actions good or evil, we only regard the Hurt or Benefit the Society receives from them, and not the Persons who commits them. (*See Page 31.*)

Diligence and Industry are often used promiscuously, to signify the same thing, but there is a great difference between them. A poor Wretch may want neither Diligence nor Ingenuity, be a saving Pains taking Man, and yet without striving to mend his Circumstances remain contented with the Station he lives in; but Industry implies besides the other qualities a Thirst after Gain, and an Indefatigable desire of meliorating our Condition. When Men think either the Customary Profit of their Calling, or else the share of Business, they have too small, they have two ways to deserve the Name of Industrious, and they must be either Ingenious enough to find out uncommon, and yet warrantable Methods to encrease their Business or their Profit, or else supply that Defect by a multiplicity of Occupations. If a Tradesman takes care to provide his Shop, and gives due Attendance to those that come to it, he is a diligent Man in his Business, but if, besides that, he takes particular Pains to sell to the same Advantage

vantage a better Commodity than the rest of his Neighbours, or if by his abse- quiousness, or some other good quality, get- ting into a large Acquaintance, he uses all possible Endeavours of drawing Customers to his Houle, he then may be call'd Industrious. A Cobler, tho' he is not employ'd half of his Time, if he neglects no Business, and makes dispatch when he has any, is a diligent Man; but if he runs of Errands when he has no work, or makes but Shoepins, and serves as a Watchman a Nights, he deserves the Name of Industrious.

If what has been said in this Remark be duely weigh'd, we shall find either that Laziness and Content are very near a'kin, or if there be a great difference between them, that the latter is more contrary to Industry than the former.

(T) *To make a great an honest Hive.*

Page 19. Line 2. This perhaps might be done where People are contented to be poor and hardy; but if they would likewise enjoy their Ease and the Comforts of the World, and be at once an opulent, potent, and flourishing as well as a Warlike Nation, it is utterly impossible. I have heard People speak of the mighty Figure the *Spartans* made

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made above all the Common-Wealths of Greece, notwithstanding their uncommon Frugality and other exemplary Virtues. But certainly there never was a Nation whose Greatness was more empty than theirs: The Splendor they liv'd in was inferior to that of a Theatre, and the only thing they could be proud of, was, that they enjoy'd nothing. They were indeed both fear'd and esteem'd Abroad: They were so fam'd for Valour and Skill in Martial Affairs, that their Neighbours did not only court their Friendship and Assistance in their Wars, but were satisfied and thought themselves sure of the Victory, if they could but get a *Spartan* General to Command their Armies. But then their Discipline was so rigid, and their manner of Living so Austere and void of all Comfort, that the most temperate Man among us would refuse to submit to the Rigour of such uncouth Laws. There was a perfect equality among them: Gold and Silver Coin were cried down; their current Money was made of Iron, to render it of a great Bulk and little worth: To lay up Twenty or Thirty Pounds, requir'd a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it nothing less than a Yoke of Oxen. Another Remedy, they had against Luxury, was, that they were oblig'd
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to eat in common of the same Meat, and they so little allow'd any body to Dine or Sup by himself at Home, that *Agis*, one of their Kings, having vanquish'd the *Athenians*, and sending for his Commons at his return Home (because he desir'd privately to eat with his Queen) was refus'd by the *Polemarchi*.

In training up their Youth, their chief Care, says *Plutarch*, was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the fatigues of long and tedious Marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field. When they were Twelve Years old, they lodg'd in little Bands, upon Beds made of the Rushes, which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*; and because their Points were sharp, they were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife: If it were a hard Winter, they mingled some Thistle down with their Rushes to keep them warm (see *Plutarch* in the of Life of *Lycurgus*.) From all these Circumstances it is plain, that no Nation on Earth was less effeminate; but being debarr'd from all the Comforts of Life, they could have nothing for their Pains but the Glory of being a Warlike People inur'd to Toils and Hardships, which was a happiness that few People would have car'd for upon the same

Terms

Terms: And tho' they had been Masters of the World, as long as they enjoy'd no more of it, *Englishmen* would hardly have envy'd them their Greatness. What Man want now adays has sufficiently been shewn in Remark (N) where I have treated of real Pleasures.

(V) *To enjoy the World's Conveniencies.*

Page 19. Line 3. That the Words Decency and Conveniency were very ambiguous, and not to be understood, unless we were acquainted with the Quality and Circumstances of the Persons that made use of them, as has been hinted already in Remark (L). The Goldsmith, Mercer, or any other of the most creditable Shopkeepers, that has Three or Four Thousand Pounds to set up with, must have two Dishes of Meat every Day, and something extraordinary for *Sundays*. His Wife must have a Damask Bed against her lying in, and two or three Rooms very well furnish'd: The following Summer she must have a House, or at least very good Lodgings in the Country. A Man that has a Being out of Town, must have a Horse; his Footman must have another. If he has a tolerable Trade, he expects in Eight or Ten Years time to keep
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his Coach, which notwithstanding he hopes that after he has flaved (as he calls it) for Two or Three and Twenty Years, he shall be worth at least a Thousand a Year for his Eldest Son to inherit, and Two or Three Thousand Pounds for each of his other Children to begin the World with; and when Men of such Circumstances pray for their daily Bread, and mean nothing more extravagant by it, they are counted pretty modest People. Call this Pride, Luxury, Superfluity, or what you please, it is nothing but what ought to be in the Capital of a flourishing Nation: Those of inferiour Condition must content themselves with less costly Convenienciès, as others of higher Rank will be sure to make theirs more expensive. Some People call it but Decency to be serv'd in Plate, and reckon a Coach and Six among the necessary Comforts of Life; and if a Peer has not above Three or Four Thousand a Year, his Lordship is counted Poor.

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